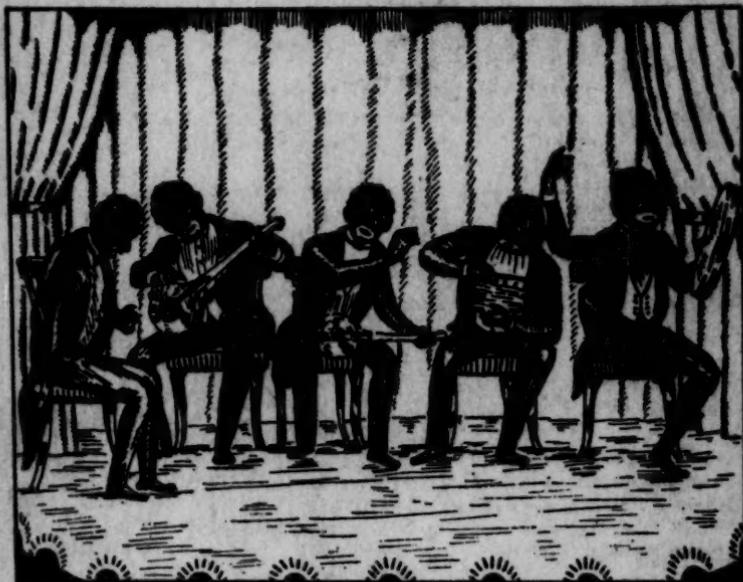


# *Missouri Historical Review*



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# *Missouri Historical Review*

*Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor*

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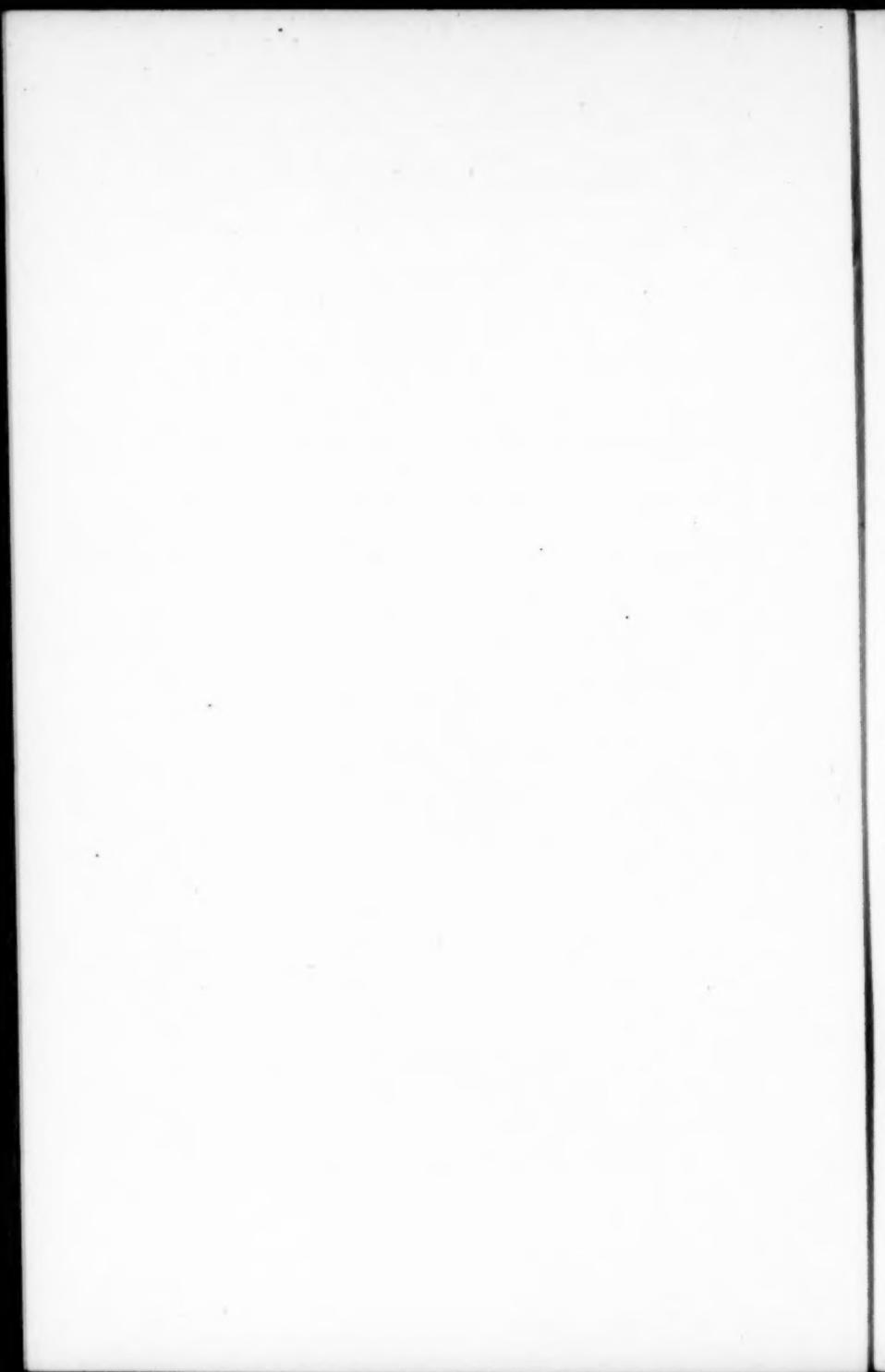


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## *Illustrations*

MINSTREL SHOW. Cover design by *William A. Knox*.

(ii)

## DOCTOR JOHN J. LOWRY: A FRONTIER PHYSICIAN

BY CHARLES F. MULLETT<sup>1</sup>

As the study of the frontier passes beyond preoccupation with the Indian, the bad man, and the squatter, it broadens out to include more settled social types such as the business and professional classes. The analysis of the merchant and the lawyer, already well under way, must lead in time to consideration of the physician and the schoolmaster—to mention no other groups who helped to shape the emerging social order.<sup>2</sup> In all such historical explorations, it is scarcely necessary to assert, the completed picture must wait on the sketches of numerous specimens, examples of the type which *in toto* represents a composite of many individuals. We cannot discuss authoritatively *the* frontier doctor until we have looked at many frontier doctors, and even then a generalized portrait is not easily drawn. In any case analysis *must* precede synthesis, for without it the second is valueless; though without synthesis analysis has no meaning. Mindful of these observations we may consider Doctor John Jefferson Lowry who, whatever the degree of his skill, had sufficient concern to examine "The causes of sickness in the autumn of 1819 & '20 in Howard and adjoining counties." Moreover, during some two decades he played a prominent role in the life of Howard county, a role that on occasion assumed some importance in the political life of the State.

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<sup>1</sup>CHARLES F. MULLETT was born in Swindon, England. In 1922 he graduated from Syracuse university with an A.B. degree; in 1923, he received a M.A. degree from Clark university; and in 1933 a Ph.D. from Columbia university. Since 1925 he has been on the faculty of the University of Missouri where he is now a professor of history. Dr. Mullett has written extensively on the history of medicine.

The author wishes to express his obligation to Professor Jonas Viles who, knowing his general interest in the history of medicine, first suggested looking into the ideas of Doctor Lowry.

<sup>2</sup>For the portrayal of the merchant see the numerous papers by Lewis E. Atherton, especially "The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America" in *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (April 1939). The lawyer received his due at the hands of W. Francis English whose doctoral thesis on that subject was recently completed.

It is no wonder then that the *Missouri Intelligencer* reported his activities in such considerable detail that we can gain some insight into his personality and character.

The sources of information concerning the life of this man who clearly stood above his fellow practitioners are by no means in agreement, but from them a preliminary sketch may be attempted. He was born in 1780 at West Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of Colonel Alexander Lowry (born, 1724) who had emigrated from Scotland to America about the time of the second Jacobite uprising (1745), and who later held public office in Pennsylvania. After receiving his early education in Philadelphia, John J. Lowry attended medical school in Cincinnati and from there he moved on to St. Louis by 1818.

Although some references state that he did not come to Howard county until 1830, the *Missouri Intelligencer* makes it quite clear that he was established at Franklin by early 1819 and indeed an advertisement concerning his debtors suggests that he was practicing there even before that. In addition to the activities which will be stressed below, he became president of the state bank at Fayette. He seems to have married a Miss Harriet Hubbard on March 22, 1818, but to all intents his important marriage was with Miss Melinda Gorham on May 1, 1821, by whom he had twelve children, four sons and eight daughters. He remained in Howard county at least until 1844 but at an unspecified date moved to Randolph county where he died in 1863 near Huntsville at the home of a daughter.<sup>3</sup> It is, however,

<sup>3</sup>This information has been derived from Mrs. Stella P. Vasse of Huntsville, to whom I am especially indebted, Mr. L. A. Kingsbury of New Franklin, and scattered references in county histories and biographical dictionaries. *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men* contains some material but is full of errors. *The History of Boone County, Missouri* describes Dr. W. T. Lowry, a son of Dr. J. J. Lowry, as "a physician of eminence and a man of extraordinary ability," but neither son nor father is listed in Max. A. Goldstein, *One Hundred Years of Medicine and Surgery in Missouri* or E. J. Goodwin, *A History of Medicine in Missouri*. Alexander Waller, *History of Randolph County, Missouri*, pp. 821-22, has Dr. J. J. Lowry born in Virginia in 1769 and dying in Randolph county in 1862, and his son, Dr. W. T. Lowry, born in Franklin in 1809 when there was no Franklin. Dr. J. J. Lowry is said to have gone to California with the forty-niners, but considering that he would have been about 70 years old at the time his third son, J. J. Lowry, Jr., appears a more likely choice.

with his Howard county career, especially so far as concerns his medical and political activities, that we are here mainly occupied.

He appears first to have crossed the skyline of Franklin and Howard county in a professional capacity. On April 23, 1819, the *Intelligencer* carried the announcement that:

Doctor Lowry. Thankful for the encouragement received in his profession, tenders his service to the citizens of Howard and Cooper Counties, in the practice of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, and hopes to merit patronage. He has on hand, and will retail, a quantity of Drugs & Medicines. Also, some Patent Medicines, viz. Bateman's Drops, British Oil, Lee's Pills, etc. He can be consulted at his shop in Franklin.

Almost immediately he achieved prominence in other spheres. At an anniversary celebration of American independence he toasted "The People of the Missouri territory; may they be as firm in resisting domestic usurpation, as they have been in repelling foreign violence."<sup>4</sup> He became a member of a committee of Howard county citizens "to draw resolutions against the unwarrantable restrictions contemplated to be imposed on the people of this territory by the Congress of the United States, in forming their State Constitution."<sup>5</sup> He was appointed administrator for an estate.<sup>6</sup> Another side of his activity came out in his notice to "gentlemen who have books belonging to the Franklin Library Company," of which he was librarian and treasurer, requesting them please to return their books "as this business of the library cannot be carried on unless the rules are observed."<sup>7</sup>

Although these varied activities seemed as time went by to take an ever larger share of Lowry's time—whether the arrival of new doctors in Franklin was the cause or consequence or entirely independent of his non-professional interests is not clear—he of course was still a physician. On July 23, 1819, he advertised that having obtained fresh

<sup>4</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), July 16, 1819. An earlier reference to his "toasting" career is to be found in the same paper for June 4, 1819.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, June 25, 1819.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, April 1, 1820; he also performed this function on later occasions.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, November 26, 1819; see also *Ibid.*, May 27, 1820, for another reference to his library activity.

vaccine matter he would vaccinate any who desired it, and that he could "be found at all times in his shop in Franklin, when not called out on Professional duty."<sup>8</sup>

A few months later he testified to the occupational disease of bad pay by requesting "those indebted to him to call and settle their accounts."<sup>9</sup> The following May 27, he announced his receipt of a new supply of drugs and medicines and reminded his debtors that "in justice to himself no longer indulgence ought to be given." By November 1820, he had become rather threatening: "Doctor Lowry informs those indebted to him that he finds it almost impossible to collect his accounts, some of them of nearly three years standing—in order to be more systematic in his business, and to have his accounts closed, it behoves him to take coercive measures. All those who do not settle their accounts by the 20th of December next may find them in the hands of a proper officer to collect."<sup>10</sup> The repeated inclusion of this notice bears witness that even it failed to produce the desired result.

It was at this time that the prevalence of a considerable amount of sickness in central Missouri prompted Lowry to explain the situation to the public.<sup>11</sup> Such action indicates that he must have been a superior practitioner, for no mere quack volunteered this information. In the first of his brief articles he was primarily concerned with causes. He remarked that much "hypothesis" had been advanced about the sickness, especially since the section had long been noted for its healthiness. It had "a pure, dry and healthy atmosphere, with but little variation." The inhabitants during the previous decade had freely testified to that condition. Nevertheless, in almost every section, "miasma" and similar factors produced unhealthy situations: "We do not pretend

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, July 23, 1819. Although it is true that vaccination was pretty well established by this time it is perhaps worth emphasis that Lowry's advertisement makes it seem quite commonplace; actually at this same era in England the subject was still exciting considerable controversy.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, November 12, 1819.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, November 1, 1820. This notice has the added importance of indicating that he had been practicing in Howard county some time before his first advertisement of April 23, 1819.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, November 4, 11, 18, 1820.

that we have the clear & blue sky of Italy, but we say we have our due quantum of health, compared with the other parts of the U. States." The years 1819 and 1820 had been sickly not alone in Missouri but also in Virginia and Kentucky, "both of which states are noted for health."<sup>12</sup>

The causes for the prevailing illness, according to Lowry, were at least in part to be found in the unusual falls of rain in the spring of each year. The ponds filled to overflowing, and with hot weather came stagnation. In the June "fresh" the Missouri river was higher than for years and thus deposited sediment in the creeks. This in turn caused effluvia to arise. Meanwhile, as was to be expected, the vegetation was unusually luxuriant which thus contributed to the miasmic condition. Putrefaction followed the combination of heat and excessive moisture, and this produced fever. Before elaborating on the fever, however, Lowry—who may have felt that he was likely to frighten people away—wound up his first essay with a few words to emigrants. "Where," he inquired, "is the part of America that holds out greater prospects to the man of small capital; for \$200 he may purchase 160 acres of excellent land which can easily be made to yield a competency for himself and family." Having thus perhaps set some uneasy minds at rest he promised in his next to discuss the fevers of 1819 and 1820.

Here he described the months of August, September, and October, 1820, as sickly to an unprecedented degree. The fever cases in August were milder than those later and yielded to the common remedies. In the latter months the fever was inflammatory and affected the stomach and viscera.

<sup>12</sup>Pertinent to this observation and supplementing the interest of these articles was an "Extract of a letter dated Savannah, 15th inst. received in Charleston" and describing the mortality in Savannah from a dreadful fever which was no common disease but a pestilence. People were leaving that city in all directions, two hundred since the preceding morning. Twelve to fifteen were dying daily, and sometimes more, as on the day previous nineteen had succumbed. The victims were sick from one to three days and at the writing between two and three hundred had the fever. When a person was attacked he had about one chance in twenty of survival. The mayor had recommended that all who could should leave the city. All ordinary routine was totally suspended. (See: *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), November 4, 1820.) There is also an earlier reference to fever in central Missouri, notwithstanding the boasted salubrity of the region. (See: *Ibid.*, April 23, 1819.)

The symptoms included pain and heaviness in the stomach, the papillae of the tongue dry and dark, great thirst, intestinal uneasiness, swollen abdomen, pain in the lumbar regions and the neck and occasionally in the head, inflammation of the eyes, and a strong and quick pulse. Lowry admitted no necessity to name this disease but felt it sufficient to treat it with judgment and according to the principles of physiology. It could be called, he said, a bilious-remittent fever or "Synochus; that is, being a combination of the Synocha and Typhus." Some remittents become intermittents. A few cases did not bear the lancet well but in most instances blood-letting brought relief and facilitated the effective use of other medicines. Cathartics were essential to secure the discharge of morbid black bile, which might continue for five or six days. Calomel relieved the victim, and when the discharge had ceased the patient began his recovery.

This reference to cathartics and particularly to calomel supplied Lowry with the text of his final essay. Concerning the use of cathartics and emetics he was quick to point out that the *primae viae* must be cleansed of their morbific and black contents before the system could resume its healthy action. The two most common agencies for securing this evacuation were emetic tartar and calomel.<sup>18</sup> He declared that he had taken pains to observe their respective effects on fever victims. Calomel was always more efficient; indeed, emetic tartar had sometimes failed to bring the discharge of morbid matter at all, even when that was known to be present. On the other hand, when "properly and timely used" calomel had never disappointed him. Although emetic tartar had genuine value in cases of nausea, calomel not only caused evacuation but had also "a peculiar alterative effect, by its gentle stimulating quality" which left the system in an excellent condition to resume its healthy functioning. Tonics and cordials would then be useful in building up the patient's strength.

<sup>18</sup>Interestingly enough, a British medical officer's report in 1795 stressed the value of calomel as "being found by late experience the best remedy for West India fever." *Papers of George, second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801*, (London, Navy Records Society, 1913, 3 vols.), Vol. I, pp. 150-152.

With this contribution Lowry concluded his analysis of the "sickness" and by the following summer public activity had clearly crowded his practice into the background, at least so far as any extraordinary attention was concerned. Except for occasional notices that he had received an assortment of medicines and could be found at his residence to which he moved his shop after marriage,<sup>14</sup> or requesting "those indebted to him to make immediate payment, as his arrangements imperiously demand Cash,"<sup>15</sup> or announcing that he had moved to the country but would continue to practice at his residence about seven miles from Franklin,<sup>16</sup> the doctor disappeared into the politician. Whether his political ambitions were costing money or he was speculating unduly in land is not clear, but he was far more insistent than his local contemporaries that his patients pay their bills.<sup>17</sup>

His earliest ambitions for public office were unfruitful as in a campaign for membership in the state senate he was roundly defeated.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless he kept before the public in capacities other than medical. He was vice-president of a celebration of Missouri's admission to statehood and toasted both "our late triumph over Eastern policy and Eastern artifice" and "Henry Clay; the warm and able friend of the Union and Missouri; may he soon preside over the whole," and "The people of Missouri, heterogeneous, yet consistent."<sup>19</sup> On July 16, 1821, at a meeting for those representatives who had voted against the loan office bill he toasted these men who "spoke the wishes of their constituents."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), May 14, 1821.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, April 2, 1822.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, October 8, 1822.

<sup>17</sup>In the issue of the *Missouri Intelligencer* of January 14, 1823, he advertised his desire "to exchange Land at the Two-Mile Prairie, (Boone County) for a good Negro Boy." Professor Lewis Atherton, who has investigated local advertisements very extensively, informs me that Lowry's practice of publicly requesting his patients to pay their bills was quite unusual.

<sup>18</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), July 19, August 5, September 9, 1820.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, April 16, 1821.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, July 16, 1821. In 1821 when general business conditions were highly speculative, immigration had declined, and bank notes of uncertain value from other states had driven out Missouri specie and ruined Missouri banks, the loan office act was passed to end the financial anarchy. It divided the state into five districts, each with a loan office, and sought to furnish a satis-

Notwithstanding such constant and appropriate endeavors he again failed of election to the legislature in August 1822, being far down the poll.<sup>21</sup>

Four years later he made another effort, announcing his candidacy on April 14, 1826. Although during the campaign "A Voter" criticized Lowry's belief that ministers of the gospel "should not be disqualified from holding office" as "a doctrine calculated to do much mischief by amalgamating politics and religion,"<sup>22</sup> the doctor was elected.<sup>23</sup> In November he informed his clients that he would not be available for medical services because of his membership in the legislature.<sup>24</sup> Two months later he supplied his constituents with a report on the work of the assembly. After summarizing the legislation he warned them that "*our state is in debt; and the only way to extricate ourselves is, industry and the products of our soil.*" Moreover, he gravely deplored the presence of men "at Jefferson, as changeable as Proteus, as false as Iago, and as full of finesse and strategem as Machiavial."<sup>25</sup>

To this one of his constituents replied that apparently all the representatives but Lowry had betrayed their trust and complained of the "vague and indefinite form" of the doctor's charges. In response to the demand for more precise accusations Lowry could muster no more than general charges of inconsistency.<sup>26</sup> Yet though he might permit himself some vague and even ill-considered attacks upon his legislative associates he was a stout democrat in principle. At the Fourth of July celebration in 1827 he toasted in his usual

factory currency and to enable citizens to borrow at a practicable rate of interest. Certificates, secured by real estate, were issued for a limited period. Although relatively conservative the scheme aroused sharp hostility and was declared unconstitutional in 1822. At this same dinner were two other toasts similar to Lowry's: "To the Loan Office, established by the desertion of every principle of moral and political honesty," and "To our uninvited representatives — may they learn to prefer the wishes of their constituents." See generally, John R. Cable, *The Bank of the State of Missouri*, pp. 74-81.

<sup>21</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), August 5, August 13, 1822.

<sup>22</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Fayette), July 6, 1826.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, August 17, 1826.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, November 16, 1826.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, January 18, 1827.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, January 25, February 8, 1827.

florid and yet rather muggy style "The representative principle—the essential pivot on which our republic moves; let no representative dare obstruct its train of action, and let aristocracy hide its deformed head."<sup>27</sup> The following March he attended a meeting in support of Jackson; and during the summer of 1828 he was again elected to the assembly.<sup>28</sup>

In this term as assemblyman he soon ran afoul of criticism of his activity in secret caucus, which he defended but not altogether convincingly.<sup>29</sup> On June 29, 1829, the editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer* (Fayette) described Lowry's defense as like all communications from the same source, "exceedingly lame and awkward," and "disgusting" in its frequent reference to "The Great Republican Party." Such "mere cant and nonsense" might be expected from an "electioneering demagogue" but not indeed from a member of the legislature. Similar sentiments appeared in letters from "A Citizen" who found Lowry a fine man but a thoroughly dubious politician.<sup>30</sup>

It is not altogether unexpected then to read in the issue of August 7, 1830, that "The people of Howard county, by a wise and just vote, have declared that they have no occasion for the Legislative services" of Doctor Lowry. His dependence on "that broken reed," the caucus, had tumbled him back into private life. Nevertheless he still figured in public affairs. In June 1831, he requested Colonel John Thornton, a candidate for Congress, to state his principles to the people of Missouri. "But, let it be understood, that your Address shall appear verbatim in print, as it may have been in your manuscript—that the orthography, syntax, etc. shall be your own."<sup>31</sup> Six months later Lowry was the Howard county delegate at "The 'Great' Jackson 'Republican' Convention of Missouri;"<sup>32</sup> and in February 1833, the

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, July 19, 1827.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, March 29, June 27, July 18, August 1, August 9, 1828.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, January 16, February 20, April 10, May 1, June 29, 1829.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, July 3, July 17, 1829.

<sup>31</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), June 11, 1831. It is clear from an editorial in the same issue that others shared the view that Thornton was illiterate.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, December 3, 1831.

report circulated that he had been appointed "Receiver of Public Moneys."<sup>33</sup>

Such sorts of activity were no doubt the stimulus for a blast by the editor in October 1833, describing Lowry as "a thorough-going 'whole-hog' 'Democratic Jackson Republican'." According to this editorial Lowry had been addressing Governor Dunklin in a neighboring paper over the signature, "You know me," in a series of articles classifying the "Governor with some of the worst characters in ancient history.—[We never knew the Doctor to make a speech or write a newspaper communication, without dipping deeply into *ancient* history. It is with him the alpha and omega.]" The editor believed the cause of the doctor's bile to stem from the governor's disregard of Lowry's claims for an executive appointment. Now that the doctor had been named one of the "Commissioners to prepare a plan of primary school instruction . . . we presume the public will not be favored with any more disclosures of Executive corruption."<sup>34</sup> This battling lost part of its effect, however, when the editor printed an announcement a week later stating that he had been requested by the doctor to say that he was not the author of the "You know me" letters. He also went on to remark that he had "no unfriendly feelings towards Dr. Lowry, of a personal nature. We certainly do not admire him as a *politician*—but have always viewed him as a most estimable man in the private walks of life."<sup>35</sup>

After this blast—though the connection is probably accidental—Lowry dropped more and more out of the public eye. In all likelihood other interests were taking precedence. Nevertheless some evidence indicates that despite the editor's disapproval Lowry the politician still continued active. On January 8, 1835, he presided at a Van Buren-Benton anti-bank Democratic caucus meeting in Jefferson City.<sup>36</sup> Several years later, 1843, he was one of a number of

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, February 2, 1833.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, October 12, 1833.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, October 19, 1833.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, January 17, 1835. Incidentally there is a tendency to overstate his legislative service. Authentic reference has been found to only two terms instead of the "several" sometimes credited to him.

citizens who invited Thomas Hart Benton to be a guest at a public dinner at Fayette. No doubt other testimony might be found that reported similar activities but so far it remains hidden.

To base a satisfactory character sketch on Lowry's few published words and on his diverse, lively, yet circumscribed career presents far too many difficulties. As seen here he was always in front of an audience. We cannot pierce the orotund toasts to find the man; his political contributions are vague and epithetical and his political career open to criticism; his medical essays are unusual mainly in the sense that he wrote them, which is perhaps credit enough. He is almost invariably the toastmaster, the politician, the doctor, not the man. Yet even with this barrier and with few scraps of personal material one may penetrate behind the externals and venture some conjectures. He was ambitious and loved the limelight; he did not always realize that though it is important to push oneself forward it is fatal to impress people with that characteristic. Withal, his public spirit as assemblyman and doctor bears no denial. He was, I am convinced, greater than the mere sum of his historical remains. In this connection he points out an historian's moral.

Here is a man about whom almost our only authentic information is a series of references in a local newspaper hungry for news. He has no existence beyond the boundaries of his community or the immediate reaches of his personality. Yet, many "great" men have been assayed, their actions judged, and their influence estimated on evidence that of itself differs little, and not at all in essence, from the testimony on Doctor Lowry. To examine such a man then is excellent training in humility: the historian may explore where he will but he must be cautious in describing what lies beyond his own horizon.

## ORGANIZING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE "BORDER-SLAVE" REGIONS: ED- WARD BATES'S PRESIDENTIAL CAN- DIDACY IN 1860

BY REINHARD H. LUTHIN<sup>1</sup>

I tell you, sir, I am absolutely bewildered, men are acting so entirely contrary to the course of their whole past lives as to confound me.<sup>2</sup>

In these words a disheartened Missourian passed judgment on his state in 1860.

The historian may well sympathize with the Missourian in his inability to understand the progress of events. For during the latter 1850s public affairs in Missouri, as in other western "border-slave" regions, were extremely confused. Sectional interests of North, South, and West converged there to create a political whirlpool that resulted in kaleidoscopic changes of scene, alliances, and personalities. Slavery, abolition, internal improvements, proposed Pacific railways, currency, Know-Nothingism, and expansion were local as well as national problems. Leaders and parties could form only temporary alliances which might vanish the moment new issues appeared.<sup>3</sup>

Through all this complexity Judge Edward Bates maintained a consistent course of conservatism between extremes in support of all trends toward preservation of the Union and avoidance of sectionalism.

<sup>1</sup>REINHARD H. LUTHIN, a native of New York city, received an A.B. degree from Columbia college in 1933 and a M.A. from Columbia university in 1934. He has completed all the scholastic requirements for a PH.D. degree in history. Now a lecturer in history at Columbia university, he has been a frequent contributor to historical and literary journals and is the co-author with Harry J. Carman of *Lincoln and the Patronage*.

<sup>2</sup>Laughlin, Sceva B., "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (April 1929), pp. 415-416.

<sup>3</sup>There is much scholarly material on Missouri politics during the decade of the 1850s. See especially: Clarence H. McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*; P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, Chapters I-IV; George J. McHugh, *Political Nativism in St. Louis, 1840-1857*, (unpublished, M.A. thesis, St. Louis university.)

Born in Virginia in 1793, Bates had migrated to St. Louis as a young man. There he read law, entered politics as an ardent Whig, held several state offices, and served one term in Congress. Leadership, however, soon passed to those who spoke the frontier language of Jacksonian Democracy. Bates returned to the law, intermittently sitting on the Missouri bench.<sup>4</sup> Subsequent efforts to induce him to re-enter public life were without avail, and in 1850 he declined President Millard Fillmore's proffer of a cabinet post.<sup>5</sup> He disapproved of Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 because he thought it would disturb national tranquility and agitate sectional controversy.<sup>6</sup> "Slavery is not the real question," he confided to his diary. "The question is only a struggle among politicians for sectional supremacy, and slavery is drawn into the contest only because it is a very exciting topic, a topic about which sensible men are more easily led to play the fool, than on any other subject."<sup>7</sup>

In 1856 Bates became alarmed by the "sectional" presidential candidacies of the Republican, John C. Frémont, and the Democrat, James Buchanan. Thus, as chairman of the last national Whig convention, he used his influence to secure the official Whig endorsement of the "American," Know Nothing, candidate for president, Fillmore. He did this primarily because he considered the American party, aside from its anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant doctrines, more national and less sectional than either of the two major parties.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup>There is no published biography of Bates. See, however, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates* by Floyd A. McNeil, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. State University of Iowa, 1933); and *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, edited by Howard K. Beale in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1930, Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup>*Millard Fillmore Papers*: Letter from Bates to Fillmore, August 1, 1850. (Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York.)

<sup>6</sup>McNeil, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>7</sup>*Diary of Edward Bates, 1846-1852*, May 31, 1851. (Manuscript in possession of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

<sup>8</sup>New York *Herald*, September 18, 1856; Carman, Harry J., and Luthin, Reinhard H., "Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX (April 1940), pp. 228-231.

When the campaign of 1856 ended Bates and other Missouri Whigs were left without a party and forced to transfer their allegiance to "Americanism," Free Soil, or other lesser groups opposed to the dominant Democrats.

If the Whigs were near their end, the Democrats, too, were having their troubles. The Democracy of Missouri was split into two opposing factions. The intra-party conflict centered about currency, the Constitution, and state's rights, but essentially about the personality of United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton. In a way this schism was a local extension of the fight between two dead leaders, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun. Benton had been Old Hickory's most distinguished supporter in Missouri. By 1851 Benton's opponents within the party sided with the Whigs to prevent his re-election to the Senate and to send a Whig senator to Washington. This defection of anti-Benton Democrats made the party rupture almost irreparable, especially since the opposing factions took different sides in the fierce dispute over the Compromise of 1850. Then Benton, shortly after elected to the lower house of Congress, widened the breach by opposing the Kansas-Nebraska bill because it was a sectional proposal. His concern for the Union kept him in arms against the pro-slavery elements in the Democratic party.<sup>9</sup> His antipathy to anti-slavery radicalism made him equally distrusted by northern extremists; he opposed Frémont for president in 1856, although the latter was his son-in-law.<sup>10</sup> When he died two years later Benton bequeathed to his followers the principle that the preservation of the Union was all-important and that extremism both north and south should be avoided—a principle, incidentally, which now inspired Bates and Benton's other Whig opponents.<sup>11</sup>

The confusion in Missouri and the emptiness of party labels had been obvious in the recent campaign. Benton

<sup>9</sup>McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*; Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, Chapters I-IV.

<sup>10</sup>Nevins, Allan, *Fremont: The West's Greatest Adventurer*, Vol. II, pp. 504-505; Roosevelt, Theodore, *Thomas Hart Benton*, p. 354.

<sup>11</sup>McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, p. 219.

indeed supported Buchanan the Democrat. But Benton's ablest lieutenant, Francis P., "Frank", Blair, Jr., aided the Republican, Frémont. And Bates the Whig sponsored Fillmore, the "American."

Nevertheless, it is possible to see some order in this political confusion. With the split in the Democratic party ever widening, there were three main contending groups in Missouri by 1858. First there were the conservatives: old Whigs, "Americans," and others anxious to suppress sectionalism and to preserve the Union. Bates was of this faction. Second there were the northern-minded Democrats with mild free-soil leanings, led by Frank Blair and his cousin, B. Gratz Brown, editor of the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*. Third there were the southern-inclined Democrats championing slavery and state's rights. A fourth possible group, small in numbers, were the advanced anti-slavery men, represented mostly among the Germans in and around St. Louis.<sup>12</sup>

By 1859 Edward Bates was drifting from his adherence to the conservative group of Whigs and "Americans" toward the northern-minded insurgent Democrats. His hope was to form a "national" coalition of former Whigs, "Americans," northern Democrats and mild Free-Soilers which would defend the Union. This hope formed the background of Bates' presidential candidacy in 1860.

Bates' campaign for the White House received much of its motive power from Frank Blair, who had inherited the late Benton's mantle as leader of the anti-administration Democrats.<sup>13</sup> Blair's ally was his talented cousin, B. Gratz Brown of the *Democrat*, an organ which Blair himself owned in part. In 1857 the *Democrat* had denounced President Buchanan's "pro-slavery" Kansas policy and advocated the colonization of emancipated Negroes in tropical America. The freed black man was a serious labor and disciplinary problem in Missouri; and the *Democrat's* attitude was:

<sup>12</sup>Ryle, Walter H., *Missouri: Union or Secession*, pp. 75-76, 75n.

<sup>13</sup>For the extensive political activities of the Blairs, see: William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics*.

"White men for Missouri and Missouri for white men."<sup>14</sup> Late in 1858 the Blair-Brown organ announced the free-soil program for the next presidential election: "To-day the campaign of 1860 begins . . . . Missouri belongs to her free white citizens—there is no room in it for slaves."<sup>15</sup>

In the following spring of 1859 Blair began organizing against the "administration" or Buchanan Democrats, with whom he and his ubiquitous family had long been at odds. Blair had foreseen that the "Americans" were an ephemeral group with no promise of permanence and that nativism offered no strong issue against the Democrats.<sup>16</sup> Besides, he believed in supremacy of "free" white labor and in Negro colonization as a solution to the race problem.<sup>17</sup> Since his Jacksonian-Bentonian antecedents were strong, he was of opinion that the campaign against the administration Democrats in power must be waged on a mild anti-slavery basis and organized as the "Free Democracy." In 1859 Blair's Free Democracy, which became substantially the nucleus of the Republican party of Missouri, was concentrated mainly in and around St. Louis. Its largest element was the German-born population, who were dissatisfied with any truckling to slaveholders and angered with the regular Democrats' hostility to "free land." Other elements in the Free Democracy were advocates of Negro colonization, champions of internal improvements, and those who wanted a Pacific railroad built from St. Louis to California with government aid.<sup>18</sup>

In 1859 the "Opposition"—the term applied collectively to all groups opposed to the administration Democrats—was divided into at least three separate factions: the Free

<sup>14</sup>Tasher, Lucy L., *The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. University of Chicago, 1934), pp. 1-19; Tasher, Lucy L., "The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (July 1937), pp. 402-403.

<sup>15</sup>Tasher, *The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup>John H. Gundlack Collection: Letter from R. P. Blair to James M. Stone, (no day listed), 1855. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

<sup>17</sup>Congressional Globe, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 44, pp. 293-298.

<sup>18</sup>John F. Snyder Papers: Letter of R. J. Robertson to Snyder, March 4, 1860, (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis); Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, p. 411, 419-422.

Democracy; the remnants of the American party, whose members knew not where to go following the decline of the nativistic issue; and the Old Line Whigs, who still refused to concede that the Whig party was dead. The "Americans" and the Old Line Whigs, in contrast to the Free Democracy, were ultra-conservative on the slavery question, believing with Bates that further agitation might end in dissolution of the Union.<sup>19</sup>

Blair and Brown believed that if the three Opposition elements—their Free Democracy, the "Americans," and the Old Line Whigs—could be united, a victorious fight could be waged against the Democrats in 1860. The one man who could bring these groups together in a successful presidential election was Edward Bates. One of Blair's motives was said to be desire to promote his own candidacy for governor.<sup>20</sup> Be that as it may, Blair approached Bates in April 1859.

Bates was quite willing to allow his name to be used in connection with the presidency. After his conference with Blair and Congressman Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, he wrote:<sup>21</sup>

The object of Messrs. Blair and Colfax no doubt was to have a confidential conference with me and a few of my known friends, so as to approximate the terms upon which the Republican party might adopt me as its candidate for the Presidency, and I and my friends might co-operate with them, in federal politics, upon honorable relations.

Both these gentlemen are influential leaders of their party, and both declare that I am their first choice. They both say that Mr. Seward cannot get the nomination of his party, perhaps not because he is not the acknowledged head of the party and entitled to the lead, but because the party is not quite strong enough to triumph alone; and his nomination therefore would ensure defeat. Mr. Colfax is very anxious to consolidate the whole N. W. [Northwest] so as to ensure what he considers the main point for which, as he understands it, his party contends—i. e., that the U. S. shall not extend slavery into any country where they do not find it already established.

To that I have no objection.

<sup>19</sup>*Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), December 13, 1859.

<sup>20</sup>*Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter of Edward L. Pierce to Sumner, April 18, 1859. (Widener library, Harvard university.)

<sup>21</sup>*Diary of Edward Bates*, p. 11.

Mr. C. is also a warm friend of Mr. Blair and is anxious to consolidate in Missouri, so as to put Mr. B. on a good footing with a majority in the State.

And, working for that end, Mr. Blair is eager to form a combination within the State, upon the precise question of slavery or no slavery in Missouri. This, undoubtedly, would be a good policy for Mr. Blair personally, because it would strengthen the local free soil party (of which he is the acknowledged local head) with all the forces that I and my friends could influence.

Finding Bates sympathetic toward his plans, Blair undertook to unite all forces of the Opposition behind Bates for president. The Old Line Whigs never quite trusted Blair who had been a Democrat but it was hoped that they would support Bates. The *Democrat* appealed to the Whigs to allow Henry Clay to lie in peace and take up Bates: "Let the bones of the 'Ashland martyr' be suffered to lie in the mausoleum . . . . Let the dead sleep. Edward Bates is a live man . . . . His opinions on the [slavery] question [are] identical with those of Clay."<sup>22</sup> The *Democrat* emphasized:<sup>23</sup>

We are fully alive to the policy, nay the duty, of rallying all the divisions of the Opposition against the profligate and imbecile rule of the National [Buchanan] Democracy.

The desired union can be effected by nominating a man for whom Republican, Whig, American, and honest Democrat will vote. Such a man, we believe, is Edward Bates.

A week after the dinner conference at Blair's home, there appeared in newspapers throughout the nation a letter written by Bates, in which he gave his views on national topics. "As to the negro question," he declared, "I have always thought, and often declared in speech and in print, that it is a pestilent question, the agitation of which has never done good to any party, section or class, and never can do good, unless it be accounted good to stir up the angry passions of men, and exasperate the unreasoning jealousy of sections." The slavery question, Bates continued, was a dangerous vortex into which good men are drawn unawares; he could attribute

<sup>22</sup>Daily Missouri *Democrat*, December 2, 1859.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., December 20, 1859.

slavery agitation pro or con to "no higher motive than personal ambition or sectional prejudice."<sup>24</sup> He charged the Buchanan administration with gross extravagance and denounced it for failure to provide internal improvements and a Pacific railway.<sup>25</sup>

Bates' letter was essentially the platform of the older conservatives in the anti-Democratic camp who disapproved of making slavery a dominant issue and who wished to press other problems—corruption, extravagance, internal improvements, and a Pacific railroad. It was also the answer of elder statesmen who saw grave danger in the Republicans' sectional agitation.

In the "border-slave" states Bates hoped to attract what was termed the "Opposition"—a conglomeration of Old Line Whigs, "Americans," dissatisfied Democrats, and conservatives in general; their only common aims were hostility to the Democrats in both local and national affairs and a demand for a cessation of the "eternal wrangling and spouting of abolitionism." It was soon proposed that the Opposition might be united with the more conciliatory Republicans of the North to form a national conservative party opposed to abolitionists in the North and to pro-slavery extremists in the South.<sup>26</sup> The hope for such a grand coalition was expressed by Bates himself.<sup>27</sup> In August 1859, he sent word to an Opposition convention in Memphis.<sup>28</sup>

It pleases me very much, gentlemen, to find that you designate the band of patriots who have lately done the good work in Tennessee as the Opposition Party. The name implies that the party is made of the good men of other parties—Democrats, Whigs, Americans, Republicans—all who can no longer brook the wild extravagances and wanton disregard of principle.

<sup>24</sup>*Daily Advertiser* (Boston), April 18, 1859.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Cole, Arthur C., *The Whig Party in the South*, pp. 327-336; Boucher, Chauncey S., "In Re That Aggressive Slaveocracy" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (June-September 1921), p. 69.

<sup>27</sup>*Diary of Edward Bates*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>28</sup>*Daily Missouri Democrat*, August 30, 1859.

Without such a union, he pointed out, success could never be achieved against the Democrats. Slavery he did not mention.<sup>29</sup>

These views met the full approval of Blair and Brown, who now portrayed the Republicans as the conservative, Union-saving party, since the Democrats had sectionalized the nation by propagating slavery.<sup>30</sup> They disparaged violent anti-slavery doctrines and condemned John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid.<sup>31</sup> They persisted in believing that gradual emancipation of the slaves and their colonization in tropical America constituted the only solution to the race problem. Instead of pressing the slavery issue Blair and Brown demanded concessions for the West, homestead legislation, a Pacific railroad, internal improvements and an adequate overland mail.

In the summer of 1859 Blair and Brown began organizing their Free Democratic forces in St. Louis—sometimes they were referred to as "Republicans"—for a "clean" ticket in the forthcoming municipal elections. The preliminary work was done in the office of the *Democrat*. Editorially the paper emphasized that the county election was tied up with the presidential battle of 1860, and with Bates's candidacy in particular. "This is the last election we shall have in the City or County, previous to the nomination of an Opposition candidate for the Presidency, except the election for Councilmen next spring," the *Democrat* declared editorially. "Every legitimate effort and many liberal concessions should be mutually made on this occasion, to combine the Opposition for subsequent action." It further added: "The probabilities are that a citizen of St. Louis will be the competitor of the nominee of the Charleston [Democratic National] Convention for the highest office in the gift of the people, and as the success of the Opposition here would contribute to the success of that gentleman before the Republican Convention, firm accord should if possible be established

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, July 12, 1859.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, October 20, 1859.

at the ensuing election, between the Free Democracy and the disbanded Whigs and Americans."<sup>32</sup>

The plans of Blair and Brown, however, were doomed to failure. The Old Line Whigs and "Americans" wanted no part of the Free Democrats, whom they considered "Black" Republicans. They invited only "conservative elements" to their "Whig" state convention at Jefferson City in February 1860.<sup>33</sup> One Whig leader directed: "Repudiate the action of any State Convention of which F. P. Blair, Jr. should be a member."<sup>34</sup> The *Democrat* lamented:<sup>35</sup>

The Free Democracy and Republicans of Missouri . . . differ—and widely differ—from the Whigs and Americans on the slavery question . . . We regret, deeply regret that the Whigs and Americans of the State are not wedded to the ennobling cause of Free Labor; we regret that they cannot be persuaded into co-operation with us in the election of delegates to the National Convention.

The Whigs and "Americans," in their state convention at Jefferson City on February 29, 1860, endorsed Bates for president; after all, he was one of them. Discord arose, however, when the conclave debated whether to send delegates to the Republican national convention at Chicago in May or to the "Constitutional Union," conservative Whig and "American," national convention at Baltimore in the same month. No decision was reached. Furthermore, the platform adopted, although essentially conservative, was too radical for certain Old Line Whigs and "Americans" who, despite their endorsement of the Blair-sponsored Bates for president, met later and formed a state central committee preparatory to sending delegates to the Constitutional Union convention. Indeed, many of the Whigs and "Americans" were by now looking upon Bates with suspicion.<sup>36</sup> In this they were justified, for Bates, perceiving the expedi-

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, July 18, 1859.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, October 21, 1859.

<sup>34</sup>*James O. Broadhead Papers*: Letter from Broadhead to W. Newland [copy], December 6, 1859. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

<sup>35</sup>*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 13, 1859.

<sup>36</sup>*Sol Smith Papers*: Letter of W. F. Switzler to Smith, March 5, 1860. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.); Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 417-418; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 9, 11, 1860.

ency of drawing closer to the Republicans, was straying farther away from his old Whig moorings.<sup>37</sup>

The inability of the Jefferson City convention to agree on whether to send delegates to Chicago or to Baltimore left Frank Blair, Brown, and the rest of the St. Louis *Democrat* junta no other alternative than to meet in a Republican state convention to select pro-Bates delegates to Chicago. This they did on March 10 in St. Louis, the only center of Republicanism in slaveholding Missouri. Then and there the fireworks started—precipitated this time not by Whigs or "Americans," but by the Germans.<sup>38</sup>

For years the German immigrants, who had trekked westward to till the soil, had agitated for free land. When the Democrats consistently refused to hear their pleas for "free land," when the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed and the Republican party was launched, the Germans, fearful lest the extension of Negro slavery and the southern landed aristocracy would close the West to settlement by free whites, flocked to the Republican ranks.<sup>39</sup> By 1860 the Germans were the dominant foreign-born element in Missouri and constituted the largest single element in the state Republican party.<sup>40</sup> For years Blair had carefully cultivated them.<sup>41</sup> The result was that, as one Missouri historian has concluded, "the Republican vote was composed mostly of Germans, a few anti-slavery men from New England states or of New England origin, and the personal following of Francis P. Blair, Jr., Edward Bates, and B. Gratz Brown."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 20, 1860. Letter of Bates to Messrs. Gwyer, Levy, and Seaman, January 3, 1860.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, March 11, 1860.

<sup>39</sup>Trexler, Harrison A., *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865*, p. 165; Stephenson, George M., *The Political History of the Public Lands From 1840 to 1862*, pp. 113, 175-177, 221, 225; Holst, Herman E. von, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 429n; Herriott, F. L., "Stephen A. Douglas and the Germans in 1854" in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 17 (1912), pp. 144-156.

<sup>40</sup>*Eighth Census of the United States: Population, 1860*, pp. 300, 301; Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 411, 420-422.

<sup>41</sup>Ryle, *Missouri: Union or Secession*, p. 111.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 166.

In early 1860, however, the German groups were in a rebellious mood. The revival of Know-Nothingism in various regions of the country in 1859 had aroused them, and their hostility toward the former "Americans" within the Republican party reached a feverish pitch. They now opposed the nomination of Bates for president because he had supported Fillmore on the "American" ticket in 1856 and because he was favorable to the enforcement of the fugitive slave law.<sup>43</sup>

On March 10 the Republican convention, called by Blair and his associates to select Missouri delegates to Chicago, met in St. Louis. Brown, as "Chairman, Republican Central Committee," called the convention to order. Resolutions were read, demanding colonization of the freed Negroes, homestead, a Pacific railroad by the central route, "equal rights of citizens of all nationalities," and opposing any change in the then liberal naturalization laws. One resolution endorsed Bates as Missouri's choice for president.

All the resolutions were satisfactory to the Germans except the one about Bates. Their resistance to this nearly upset the convention. When a delegate moved that the resolutions be adopted as a whole, one Pinner, editor of a Kansas City German-language paper, objected to the pro-Bates clause. Carl Daenzer, editor of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, came to Pinner's aid. Confusion followed despite cries of "Order!" from Chairman Brown. Pinner finally secured the floor, and offered the substitute resolution "*Resolved*, That the delegates of the Republican party of Missouri have no preferred candidate for President of the United States, and that our delegates to Chicago shall not cast their votes for any candidate who does not stand fairly and square upon the Philadelphia [National Republican] platform of 1856." This, of course, would eliminate Bates. Pinner roared above the disorder: "Mr. Bates has not

<sup>43</sup>*Nathaniel P. Banks Papers*: Letter from H. Kreisman to Banks, April 21, 1859; Letter from C. H. Ray to Banks, April 2, 1859. (Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts); *Edward Bates Papers*: Letter from E. R. Harlan, February 7, 1908. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.); Herriott, F. I., "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860" in Downer, Harry E., *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 839-846.

declared himself upon the Republican platform, and his views upon the measures advocated by the Republicans are not definitely known." Amid hisses and deliberate coughs Pinner shouted that the gathering was not assembled to "hold a Whig or Know-Nothing Convention." Cries of "Dry up!" were hurled at the speaker. Pinner's efforts proved of no avail, and the resolution endorsing Bates was approved, whereupon a number of Germans marched out of the hall. Daenzer remained, and told the Convention that he was confident that "the Chicago Convention would nominate a candidate that will not suit the Old Line Whigs and Know-Nothings." When Daenzer was asked if he would support Bates if he were nominated, he replied with an emphatic "No." Bates was endorsed, but it was obvious that the Teutonic groups were hostile to his candidacy.<sup>44</sup> It was estimated that the Missouri delegation to Chicago, among whom were Blair and Brown, stood twelve for Bates and six against him.<sup>45</sup>

Although the Germans did not block a Missouri endorsement of Bates, their opposition compelled him to commit himself compromisely on the issues of the day. Shortly after the Republican state convention a committee composed of Dr. Charles L. Bernays, editor of the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, and nine other Republican leaders sent Bates an open letter asking him to answer specific questions.

To the first question, "Are you opposed to the extension of slavery?" Bates answered that he had no new opinions on the subject, but he added that "within the States it exists by local law, and the Federal Government has no control over it there . . . . The National Government has the power to permit or forbid slavery within [the Territories] . . . . I am opposed to the extension of slavery." To the second question, "Does the Constitution carry slavery into the Territories?" Bates said: "I answer no." Another question, aimed at pacifying the German vote, related to equality of rights of natives and foreign-born. Bates rejoined: "I recognize no distinction among Americans. There is no

<sup>44</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 11, 1860.

<sup>45</sup>*Detroit Free Press*, March 13, 1860.

difference between the citizens born and made such by law." Still another query related to the admission of Kansas territory as a state. Bates replied: "I think that Kansas ought to be admitted without delay, leaving her like all other states, the sole judge of her own constitution."<sup>46</sup>

Bates' letter, designed to conciliate the Germans and other advanced Republicans all through the North, did not help a bit; indeed, it weakened him considerably because it made him unacceptable to many conservative Whigs and "Americans."<sup>47</sup> One Missouri "American" leader stated that Bates, by his acceptance of the Republican doctrine of Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories, had made himself obnoxious to "the great body of the forty-five thousand Whigs and Americans in this state."<sup>48</sup> In other slaveholding border states, too, Bates became *persona non grata* to great bodies of Old Line Whigs and "Americans." In Kentucky the influential Louisville *Journal* commented:<sup>49</sup>

He has deliberately and formally subscribed to every article in the Republican creed. He is opposed to the extension of slavery and in his opinion the spirit and policy of the government ought to be against its extension. This covers the whole Republican ground. It settles the position of Mr. Bates decisively. He is just as good or bad a Republican as Seward, Chase or Lincoln is. As such, of course, the Constitutional Union [conservative Whig and "American"] men of the South will scorn to touch him. He has by a single blow severed every tie of confidence or sympathy which connected him with the Southern Conservatives.

This unfavorable reaction to the Bates letter blasted Blair's and Brown's plans for a united "Opposition" that would support Bates for the presidency. The net result of their efforts was that they had offended large groups of conservative Whigs and "Americans" without winning the Germans and other radical Republicans to their cause.

<sup>46</sup>*Daily Evening News* (St. Louis), March 21, 1860. This paper prints Bates' letter.

<sup>47</sup>*Diary of Edward Bates*, pp. 111-114; Ryle, Missouri: *Union or Secession* pp. 133-134.

<sup>48</sup>Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, p. 419.

<sup>49</sup>*Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), March 24, 1860. Extract from the Louisville *Journal*.

But it was natural that the Blair-Brown-Bates plan of union crumbled. The radicalism of the early Republican movement, no matter how Blair might portray the Republicanism of 1860 as the essence of conservatism, could not so suddenly be effaced. The sweeping condemnations of southern slave society and economy by Republican extremists such as Owen Lovejoy, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and Charles Sumner had made an indelible impression. Many people North and South identified Republicanism with these men, not with such moderates as Edward Bates and Frank Blair. And to southerners the words "Republican" and "Abolitionist" remained synonymous.<sup>50</sup>

While Frank Blair and B. Gratz Brown were laboring for Bates in the western "border-slave" localities, others of the Blair family were boosting Bates in the eastern "border-slave" regions, particularly in Maryland.

Maryland, with commercial as well as agricultural interests, was a traditional Whig state.<sup>51</sup> Conservative and nationally minded, it had maintained a consistent opposition alike to both secession and abolition. When the Whig party collapsed in 1854-55 most Marylanders gave their support to the new American party which, in addition to combatting German and Irish influences, also opposed sectionalism and preached the necessity of muffling the slavery question. In 1856 Maryland voted for Fillmore for president and proclaimed itself a sturdy conservative stronghold between two sectional forces. In this same year a newly organized Republican party attempted to hold a meeting in Baltimore; only thirty or forty persons were present, but a mob howled outside the hall and finally broke up the meeting. In 1857 Maryland, although its governor was Democratic, had a Know-Nothing, Whig-trained legislature and by 1858 Baltimore was completely under the nativists' rule.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Scrugham, Mary, *The Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861*, pp. 14-15; Sellers, James L., "The Make-Up of the Early Republican Party" in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 37 (1930), pp. 50-51.

<sup>51</sup>Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, pp. 2-4, 44, 62, 133.

<sup>52</sup>Schmeckelber, Laurence F., *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland*, pp. 37, 69; McConville, Mary St. Patrick, *Political Nativism in Maryland*, pp. 116, 121-124.

During 1859 Henry Winter Davis, Know-Nothing candidate for re-election to Congress, conceived of a union of the "Americans" and Republicans for 1860 with Edward Bates as standard-bearer.<sup>53</sup> In January 1860, the *Baltimore Patriot*, favorable to Davis' plan of union against the Democrats,<sup>54</sup> declared for Bates for president.<sup>55</sup> Ironically enough, the Republican movement, started from conservative nativistic origins, soon attracted the radical, anti-slavery Germans.<sup>56</sup>

Republican leadership in Maryland, however, went not to the "American" Davis nor to the German chieftains, but to Frank Blair's father and brother, Francis P. Blair, Sr., and Montgomery Blair. The two Maryland Blairs believed that if the South were assured that the Republicans did not advocate white and Negro equality, many southern states would support them! The Blairs therefore advocated solving the slavery question by colonizing Negroes in tropical America as fast as their masters would emancipate them. In 1859 Montgomery Blair wrote another Republican leader:<sup>57</sup>

Colonization . . . would do more than ten thousand speeches to define accurately our objects and disabuse the minds of the great body of the Southern people of the issue South that the Republicans wish to set negroes free among them to be their equals and consequently their rulers when they are numerous. This is the only point needing elucidation and comprehension by the Southern people to make us as strong at the South as at the North. If we can commit our party distinctly to this I will undertake for Maryland in 1860.

On the basis of this program the Blairs hoped to have slaveholding Maryland represented in the Republican na-

<sup>53</sup>*Justin S. Morrill Papers*: Letter from Davis to Morrill, August 20, 1859. (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

<sup>54</sup>*Clipper* (Baltimore), March 13, 1860; April 5, 1860. Reprint from *Baltimore Patriot*.

<sup>55</sup>*Republican* (Springfield, Mass.), January 9, 1860. Reprint from the *Baltimore Patriot*.

<sup>56</sup>*Stephen A. Douglas Papers*: Letter from York to Douglas, June 30, 1860. (University of Chicago library, Chicago, Illinois); Hennighausen, L. P., "Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore During 1850-1860" in the *Seventh Annual Report of the Society of the Germans in Maryland*, 1892-1893, pp. 53-59.

<sup>57</sup>*Studies in Southern History and Politics: Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning*, p. 10. Extract of a letter from Montgomery Blair to James R. Doolittle.

tional convention at Chicago. The Republican party of Maryland, wrote a Blair follower, was "a concealed one, its sentiments felt by those who hold them as sentiments not safely or wisely to be avowed."<sup>58</sup> In late April the Blairs called a Republican state convention at Baltimore. Amidst the threats of the crowds outside the convention hall, delegates to Chicago were chosen, among them the elder Blair. A resolution was adopted recommending that the delegation vote for president as a unit and a typical Blair plank advocating Negro colonization was approved. Essentially a Blair project, this sparsely attended Republican convention assured Maryland votes for Bates at Chicago.<sup>59</sup>

In neighboring Delaware, another slave state, the situation was somewhat similar to that in Maryland. Here a conservative, Whig-minded, anti-Democratic sentiment organized into the "People's party,"<sup>60</sup> which was willing to accept Bates and send delegates to the Republican national convention. This point of view was given expression in the Wilmington *Delaware Republican*.<sup>61</sup> The People's party drew much support from Delaware manufacturing interests who were dissatisfied with the low-tariff policies of the Democrats and wanted protection for their industries. In short, the Opposition in Delaware was primarily an anti-Democratic, Unionist and protectionist movement.<sup>62</sup>

The *Delaware Republican* insisted that the Republican party was not radical, and that border-state conservatives should endorse Edward Bates: "The great opposition [Republican] party which has carried every northern and nearly every western state cannot have anything very objectionable in its platform . . . Why could we not support Judge Bates or some other conservative man standing on a

<sup>58</sup>Francis P. Blair Papers: Letter from William L. Marshall to Montgomery Blair, May 30, 1860. (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

<sup>59</sup>Andrews, Matthew P., *History of Maryland: Providence and State*, p. 505; *Sun* (Baltimore), April 27, 1860.

<sup>60</sup>Conrad, Henry C., *History of the State of Delaware*, Vol. I, pp. 194-195.

<sup>61</sup>*Delaware Republican* (Wilmington), February-May, 1860.

<sup>62</sup>Powell, Walter A., *A History of Delaware*, p. 238; *Press & Tribune* (Chicago), February 3, 1860. Reprint from the Milford, Delaware, *News and Advertiser*; *Daily Telegraph* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), August 8, 1859. Reprint from the *Peninsula News: North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), July 1, 1858.

conciliatory platform, with a clause in it providing for the protection of the industry of our country?"<sup>63</sup> In February 1860 this paper placed Bates' name for president on its editorial masthead<sup>64</sup> insisting that no third party to combat the Democrats was practicable, and that the People's party should send delegates to Chicago because the invitation to that coming monster Republican gathering there "embraces all the opponents of the present corrupt administration as well as all Republicans."<sup>65</sup>

The *Delaware Republican* accordingly sponsored a People's party state convention to be held at Dover May 1.<sup>66</sup> "There is no Republican organization in this state, and there is no intention to form one," the *Republican* explained, "The voters who are in favor of holding the convention at Dover . . . intend to act with the People's party, particularly in the nomination of candidates, and to use their best and most earnest efforts to defeat the Loco [Democratic] forces."<sup>67</sup> The all-important aim was to defeat the Democrats.<sup>68</sup>

The People's party convention met as planned at Dover. The main speaker was the veteran Whig, "Tom" Corwin of Ohio, who, after serving in the senate and in Fillmore's cabinet, emerged from retirement in 1858 to recuperate his lost political fortunes. An old Whig by temperament and convictions, he nurtured ideas of transforming the Republicans into a great conservative party such as the Whigs had been. He was still devoted to the traditional Whig theme of the tariff, and he proved a source of embarrassment to the radical Republicans. But he was an asset in a conservative, tariff-minded territory such as Delaware, for he could gloss over the repulsive features of *bona fide* Republicanism.<sup>69</sup> Corwin gave a spellbinding speech, advocating a high tariff

<sup>63</sup> *Delaware Republican*, January 30, 1860.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, February 27, 1860.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, February 6, 1860.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, April 26, 30, 1860.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1860.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> William Schouler Papers: Letter from Thomas Corwin to Schouler, April 28, 1860. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.); Roseboom, Eugene H., *Ohio in the 1850's*, (unpublished, Ph. D. dissertation. Harvard University, 1932), pp. 387-388, 387n, 407n.

and explaining that conservative Republicans should not be considered abolitionists just because abolitionists voted with Republicans. The convention at Dover appointed pro-Bates delegates, headed by one Nathaniel B. Smithers, and adopted resolutions which took the anti-slavery sting from Republicanism by advocating a protective tariff and a homestead bill, and charging the Buchanan administration with sectionalism because it had reopened the slavery controversy.<sup>70</sup> Bates was assured of Delaware support at Chicago.<sup>71</sup>

The two Maryland Blairs, in their search for Bates delegates, also operated in Kentucky, another "border-slave" state.

Kentucky had been a citadel of Whiggery—the bailiwick of Henry Clay.<sup>72</sup> But now Harry of the West had passed to his reward, the Whig party was prostrate—yet the state remained conservative and Union-minded; in 1856 its electoral vote had been given to Buchanan because he was considered less sectional than Fremont. In this same year of 1856 an embryo Republican party had appeared in Kentucky led by Henry Clay's tempestuous and fearless cousin, Cassius M. Clay. This Republican movement was strongest in the southern end of Madison county—just at the border between the "blue grass" region and the mountains, where economic conditions were unfavorable to the slave-plantation system.<sup>73</sup> For years a crusader in the anti-slavery cause, Cassius M. Clay believed that a system based on Negro bondage was one of waste and impoverishment for the majority of white men. Thus he had thrown in his lot with the Republicans.<sup>74</sup>

By the "rotten borough" system Clay had a comparatively large following among Kentucky Republicans. "So,"

<sup>70</sup>*Delaware Republican*, May 3, 1860.

<sup>71</sup>Smithers, William T., "Memoir of Nathaniel B. Smithers" in *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, Vol. XXIII (1899), pp. 24-25.

<sup>72</sup>Coulter, E. Merton, "The Downfall of the Whig Party in Kentucky" in *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, No. 67 (January 1925), p. 162.

<sup>73</sup>Robertson, James R., "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (June 1917), p. 55.

<sup>74</sup>Ritchie, William, *The Public Career of Cassius M. Clay*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1934.), p. 91; Wilson, Henry, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. II, p. 511.

he wrote, "I was much courted by the aspirants for the presidency." It was not surprising that Francis P. Blair, Sr., and Montgomery Blair should approach Clay regarding support for Bates. Later Clay wrote:<sup>75</sup>

The Blairs were for Edward Bates, a respectable old Whig of Missouri. They invited me to their residence at Silver Springs, in Maryland; and without ceremony, said, if I would go for Bates, I should be made Secretary of War . . . But I knew nothing of Bates' principles; and I frankly declined to support him. For this I lost favor with the Blairs.

There was ample reason why Clay was not interested in supporting Bates: at this very time he was planning to present himself as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.<sup>76</sup>

Despite Bates' inability to conciliate the conservative Whigs and "Americans," the Germans, and the more radical Republicans, he loomed as William H. Seward's most formidable rival for the presidential nomination on the eve of the Republican national convention. Horace Greeley placed his widely-circulated *New York Tribune* behind his candidacy.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the Missourian attracted strong support in the more conservative counties of Indiana, where Congressman Colfax and the Indianapolis editor-politician, John D. Defrees, worked valiantly for him.<sup>78</sup>

The Republicans assembled in national convention at Chicago on May 16, 1860. The Bates men were early on the scene. Frank Blair and his Missouri delegation rented rooms in the Tremont House, which became Bates head-

<sup>75</sup>*The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay: Memoirs, Writings, and Speeches*, Vol. I, pp. 244-246.

<sup>76</sup>*Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter of C. M. Clay to Sumner, March 3, 1860; "The 1860 Presidential Campaign: Letters of Cassius M. Clay to Cephas Brainerd" in *The Moorsfield Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 2 (August 1937), pp. 105-106.

<sup>77</sup>*Greeley-Colfax Papers*: Letter from Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, February 28, 1860. (New York public library, New York.); *Tribune* (New York), February 20, 1860.

<sup>78</sup>*Daniel D. Pratt Papers*: Letter from P. A. Hackleman to Pratt, March 26, 1860. (Indiana State library, Indianapolis.); Hollister, Ovando J., *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, p. 148; Brand, Carl F., "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana" in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (September 1922), pp. 300-301; *Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), February 23, 1860.

quarters. His father and Greeley were the lions there about whom crowds gathered.<sup>79</sup> They circulated an address, signed by Frank Blair, Greeley, Defrees and others, outlining their candidate's virtues. To the more conservative Republicans they contended that the nomination of Bates would refute the charges of sectionalism levelled at the party and rebuke alike northern abolitionists and southern "fire-eaters;" to the more radical Republicans they insisted that the selection of Bates as standard-bearer would dissolve the Constitutional Union party, which had named Senator John Bell of Tennessee for president the week previous.<sup>80</sup>

Bates had followers in the pivotal Pennsylvania delegation because of his conservatism and high-tariff views.<sup>81</sup> Frank Blair invaded the joint caucus of the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegations. One of Abraham Lincoln's managers at Chicago, the German-born former Lieutenant Governor Gustave Koerner of Illinois, related the progress of events at this juncture:<sup>82</sup>

The Bates men, having learned of this meeting, appeared there in force, and [Frank] Blair had already commenced making a speech for Bates when word was sent to our [Lincoln] headquarters of what was going on. Browning and myself were immediately dispatched to counteract the movement. I heard the last part of Blair's speech. He was followed by Fred Muench, who promised the vote of Missouri for Bates, and Judge Krekel closed in a rather able speech for Bates.

I now asked leave to speak for Lincoln. The court house was crowded with many other delegates and with citizens of Chicago. The moment I named Lincoln the cheers almost shook the court house. I controverted the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, said that outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench no Republican could get a vote; that the State was for Douglas . . . that I was astonished that my German friends from Missouri talked of supporting Bates, who in 1856 had presided over a Whig National Convention at Baltimore, which had nominated Fillmore and Donelson, after they had been nominated by the Know Nothings; that Bates in the municipal elections of St. Louis had several times supported the Know Nothing ticket; that I would tell this meeting in all candor that if Bates was

<sup>79</sup>Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 475-476.

<sup>80</sup>Daily Advertiser (Boston), May 15, 1860.

<sup>81</sup>Pitkin, Thomas M., *The Tariff and the Early Republican Party*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. Western Reserve University, 1935.), p. 199.

<sup>82</sup>Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1886, Vol. II, pp. 88-89.

nominated, the German Republicans in the other States would never vote for him; I for one would not, and I would advise my countrymen to the same effect.

Koerner was shrewd in emphasizing the Germans' hostility to Bates. Because of the Missourian's connection with the "Americans" the German leaders had agitated against Bates's selection as standard-bearer. They had even called a "Conference of the German Republican Clubs" at Chicago May 14-15, the eve of the national convention. The conclave assembled on May 14 at a fraternal center, the Deutsches Haus, and drew up resolutions cautioning the national convention not to nominate any candidate with a nativist record.<sup>83</sup> As has been seen, the Germans' opposition to Bates had been manifest at the state Republican convention in St. Louis on March 10.<sup>84</sup> This had made a profound impression on Republican leaders even in the East. "You have doubtless seen that at the Missouri Convention there was a German demonstration against Bates," a New York Republican chieftain had written a prominent Pennsylvania party man, "It is indicative of German feeling everywhere, and inasmuch as we depend upon them to carry the western states if we are to carry them at all, it seems to me that it ought to be conclusive in respect to his nomination."<sup>85</sup> And Koerner argued: "Bates . . . would drive off . . . the radical or I should rather say the German element."<sup>86</sup> Lincoln's managers used all this to good advantage.<sup>87</sup> Soon Indiana, where Bates had followers, forsook him as a presidential possibility.<sup>88</sup> Bates was totally *persona non grata* to the numerous Teutonic groups of the Republican party.

<sup>83</sup>Herriott, F. L., "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860" in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 35 (1928), pp. 141-189; *Press* (Philadelphia), May 15, 1860.

<sup>84</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 11, 1860; *Detroit Free Press*, March 13, 1860.

<sup>85</sup>Henry C. Carey Papers: Letter from E. Peshine Smith to Carey, March 14, 1860. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.)

<sup>86</sup>Lyman Trumbull Papers: Letter from Koerner to Trumbull, April 16, 1860. (Library of Congress).

<sup>87</sup>*Press & Tribune*, March 15, 1860.

<sup>88</sup>Lyman Trumbull Papers: Letter from John G. Stephenson to Trumbull, March 23, 1860; *Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), May 16, 1860; *Press*, May 15, 1860.

On at least two other counts, besides German hostility, was Bates "unavailable" as a presidential contender. First, his conservatism and age were frowned upon by the more radical Republicans; and second, he could not carry his own state of Missouri, which was considered certain to go Democratic in November.<sup>89</sup> An Iowa leader declared flippantly of Bates: "I will not go into the cemetery or catacomb;"<sup>90</sup> and "I don't know why we should go into the state of Missouri for a President. As to carrying that, or any other slave state, it is folly to think of it."<sup>91</sup> Still another handicap to Bates's cause at Chicago was the nomination of John Bell by the Constitutional Unionists the week previous. Bell's candidacy meant that tens of thousands of Whigs, "Americans," and other anti-Democratic conservatives would vote for Bell rather than Bates.<sup>92</sup> The Republicans accordingly dropped Bates from consideration. Abraham Lincoln was named as standard-bearer.<sup>93</sup>

In the campaign that followed it was recognized that Lincoln could not be elected by radical Republican votes alone. "We cannot elect a man on anti-slavery ground exclusively," one Republican leader had acknowledged long since, "We must carry the American or conservative element in the middle states."<sup>94</sup> In persuading the moderates Bates proved of distinct aid to Lincoln. He wrote a public letter, appealing to Old Line Whigs and "Americans." He declared: "I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound and safe man. He could not be sectional if he tried."<sup>95</sup> The Republican national committee sent appropriate speakers and literature to the various regions. Bates, although declining to take the stump, continued to write letters appealing for Lincoln's

<sup>89</sup>*Lyman Trumbull Papers*: Letter from George A. Nourse to Trumbull, May 13, 1860; *Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter from Edward L. Pierce to Sumner, April 20, 1860.

<sup>90</sup>Pike, James S., *First Blows of the Civil War*, p. 484.

<sup>91</sup>*Elihu B. Washburne Papers*: Letter from Fitz Henry Warren to Washburne, February 6, 1860. (Library of Congress.)

<sup>92</sup>Halstead, Murat, *Caucuses of 1860*, pp. 16ff.

<sup>93</sup>*Republican* (Springfield, Mass.), May 23, 1860.

<sup>94</sup>*Nathaniel P. Banks Papers*: Letter from H. Kreisman to Banks, April 2, 1859.

<sup>95</sup>McNeil, *Lincoln's Attorney General*: *Edward Bates*, p. 213.

election, which were circulated in the more conservative counties of the free states bordering on the slave states. Here they were beneficial to the Lincoln cause.<sup>96</sup>

Lincoln, in forming his cabinet, chose Bates as his attorney general. After almost four years of service as the nation's chief law officer, however, the hectic current of Washington in war time had moved too swiftly for his conservative nature. In November 1864 Bates was happy to resign the justice portfolio and retire to his Missouri home.<sup>97</sup>

In all, the Bates movement in Missouri during 1859-1860 constituted a curious episode. It represented a futile attempt to conservatize the Republican party and combine it with the nationally-minded Whigs and "Americans" in North and South in a common program of opposition to the Democrats for the campaign of 1860. But it failed primarily because Bates was too tainted with Know-Nothingism to suit the Germans, too conservative to be acceptable to the radical Republicans, and too closely linked to Frank Blair's Free Democracy to please the Old Line Whigs. If the Blairs and their associates had succeeded in their plans and Edward Bates had become president, the history of the United States might well have been startlingly different.

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<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>97</sup>*Dairy of Edward Bates*, p. 428.

## MISSOURI AT WEST POINT

### HER GRADUATES THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

BY GEORGE T. NESS, JR.<sup>1</sup>

A number of the young men of Missouri who are in arms today, graduates of the United States military academy, are following in the footsteps of those of older times who marched to honor and fame from the historic palisades of Old West Point.

By the time the bombs bursting over Fort Sumter in the spring of 1861 were sounding the knell for the hope of a peaceful settlement of the many problems that vexed the Union, twenty-three native born sons of Missouri had been graduated from the academy. One of these had attained the rank of colonel, six were captains, seven, first lieutenants, while eight were second lieutenants or serving as such. The remaining man held the now discarded rank of ensign.

The State's first graduate was Pascal Vincent Bouis. He entered as a cadet on July 17, 1804, and was commissioned second lieutenant in the regiment of artillerists on March 6, 1806, fifteen years before Missouri was admitted to the Union. Bouis remained in the army for but two years, resigning in 1808 to become a planter near Pointe Coupee, Louisiana, where he died in 1811, at the age of 27 years.

Auguste Chouteau graduated in the same year with Bouis and was commissioned ensign in the second infantry. After a year's service he too resigned and for thirty years engaged in trade with the Indians. Due to his experience, no doubt, he was appointed United States commissioner to the Comanches in 1837, but died the next year at the Saline, near Fort Gibson in the Indian territory.

<sup>1</sup>GEORGE T. NESS, JR., a native of Baltimore, Maryland, received an A.B. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1928 and a LL.B. from the University of Maryland in 1932. A member of the Maryland and Baltimore bar and an associate editor with the Law Service publishing company, he has been a member of the department of history of the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute since September 1928. Mr. Ness has published several articles on the early graduates of West Point.

Charles Gratiot was also commissioned in 1806 and became the most prominent of the early Missouri graduates. He saw service in the War of 1812 as chief engineer of General Harrison's army in the Northwest; was promoted to colonel in 1828; and, as chief engineer of the United States army, was *ex officio* inspector of the military academy. In the same year he was breveted brigadier general for faithful services and general good conduct. Although most highly respected, General Gratiot was dismissed by President Van Buren in 1838 after trouble developed over the use of government funds.

For the remainder of his life the Missourian protested that he had used no government funds, but that an inspection of his accounts would show that he was owed money. He tried for years to have a proper hearing and petitioned Congress. Although many members seemed to feel that he had been poorly used, the matter was apparently never straightened out. There seemed to be no available remedy for the general. From 1840 until his death in St. Louis in 1855, Gratiot was a clerk in the general land office at Washington. That his reputation was clear in the minds of many is amply proved by the fact that Fort Gratiot on the St. Clair river, Gratiot village and Gratiot county, Michigan, and Gratiot, Wisconsin, were named after him.

By 1861 eleven of the Missouri graduates had died. Captain James W. Penrose, First Lieutenants Marie V. Boisaubin, and Joseph Proveaux had died in service, the latter having been killed in a duel. Ten had resigned and were dead. Colonel Gratiot has already been mentioned. The others were First Lieutenants Pascal V. Bouis, Augustus Conant, and Epaphras Kibby; Second Lieutenants Louis Loramier, Louis Vallè, and William L. E. Morrison, and Ensign Auguste Chouteau. The French influence in Missouri life is easily seen from the names of many of her early graduates.

Loramier and Bouis had been farmers, in Missouri and Louisiana, respectively. Morrison was a civil engineer, Vallè a merchant in his native state, while Kibby was an

editor in Mobile, United States quartermaster agent, and an officer in the Alabama militia, all at the same time. Conant's occupation is not known.

Chouteau, Loramier, and Penrose had seen service on the frontier and in the various Indian wars, while Gratiot, Proveaux, Boisaubin, and Conant had fought in the War of 1812. Penrose seems to have had more fighting experience than most of the others for he was in the Black Hawk war of 1832, fought against the Seminoles in some of the many campaigns against them, and marched under the flag beneath the blazing sun in the Mexican war as a captain in the second infantry, and was breveted major for gallant conduct at Cerro Gordo.

When the Civil war started there were thirteen living graduates, twelve of whom were in service. They numbered five captains, two first lieutenants, and five second lieutenants. All of the captains and two of the second lieutenants remained in Union Blue, the others resigning to don the Gray.

Perhaps the best known of the Union men was Captain Garriel R. Paul who had graduated in 1834. He had seen much active service against the Seminoles, was breveted major for gallantry when the American legions stormed the heights of Chapultepec in the Mexican war. For such service he was presented with a beautiful sword by the citizens of St. Louis.

Shortly after the Civil war began, Paul was promoted to colonel and for a time led the fourth New Mexico regiment. He was commissioned brigadier general of volunteers in 1862, and saw duty in most of the major campaigns. He was in command of the first brigade of Robinson's division of Reynold's first corps at Gettysburg where his gallant services were lost to the Union. In the first day's battle, July 1, 1863, he received a wound in the head which caused the loss of sight of both eyes. Paul was breveted brigadier general on that field and was later retired with full rank. In November 1863, the twenty-ninth New Jersey, which had been of his command, presented him with a jeweled sword in recognition of his gallant leadership.

Four years after Paul's graduation, Captain Langdon C. Easton was commissioned with such later Civil war leaders as Irvin McDowell, P. G. T. Beauregard, W. J. Hardee, and A. J. Smith. He too saw much frontier duty in the West and against the Seminoles. Shortly after civil strife commenced in 1861 he was promoted to major, became chief quartermaster of the Army of the Cumberland, and served as such in Sherman's Georgia campaign. He was twice breveted for meritorious services, to brigadier and to major general.

In the class of 1843, with Ulysses S. Grant and William B. Franklin, was Frederick Tracy Dent of Missouri. He was twice breveted for gallantry in the Mexican war, first lieutenant at Contreras and Churubusco, and captain at Molino del Rey where he was severely wounded.

After two years of Civil war service, Dent was promoted to major, and in 1864 became aide-de-camp to General Grant with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Brevets to colonel and brigadier general in the regular and promotion to the latter grade in the volunteers followed faithful service in the final campaigns.

Peter William Livingston Plympton was commissioned just in time to see service in the Mexican war, in 1847. He had a good military background for his father, Colonel Joseph Plympton, had been breveted at Cerro Gordo. In the Civil war the son saw much service in New Mexico, was breveted major and lieutenant colonel on that frontier, and was promoted to major in 1863.

Frontier garrison duty followed the graduation of Joseph Hunter McArthur two years after Plympton had been commissioned. He commanded the seventieth Pennsylvania in McClellan's peninsular campaign, was promoted major in the regular army, but ill health forced his retirement in the latter part of 1863.

Three years before the war, in 1858, Samuel McKee was commissioned in the mounted riflemen. By 1862 he held the rank of captain, but entered the volunteer service where positions of responsibility were more readily had

and the opportunities for promotion were greater. He was colonel of the seventy-seventh New York regiment, fought through the Antietam and Rappahannock campaigns. In Stoneman's Richmond raid, at Gettysburg, before Richmond and at Spottsylvania he wielded his sword under the Stars and Stripes. But McKee's promising career was cut short, for in the fearful carnage at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864, he was wounded and died two days later.

The last Missouri West Point officer to graduate before the war was Alfred T. Smith who, after being breveted for gallantry on the Peninsula was transferred to the military academy. He returned to the field in 1865 as colonel of the 156th Illinois regiment.

In the war years four of Missouri's sons were graduated. James H. Rollins, who graduated in 1862, taught at the academy before serving in the ordnance department where he was breveted captain.

Three graduated in the class of 1864. Amos Stickney became an engineering officer and served in Sherman's "March to the Sea" and northward. He was breveted captain and major for zealous services. William Albert Jones never saw active duty for he was retained at the academy as an instructor, while Alexander Sanford Clarke, a cavalry officer under "Fighting Phil" Sheridan, was breveted captain at Five Forks, seven days before General Lee's surrender.

Five of Missouri's West Pointers left the United States army to serve under the Stars and Bars. Less than a month after the fall of Fort Sumter, Lieutenant Lucius Loomis Rich, class of 1853, who had been on many frontiers and Seminole campaigns, resigned and became colonel of the first Missouri infantry, C.S.A. His career was short, however, for amid the shot and shell on the sanguinary field of Shiloh, where Albert Sidney Johnston died, he was mortally wounded and died four months later in Mobile, August 9, 1862.

Also before real fighting started, James Patrick Major resigned and transferred his allegiance. He had had a great deal of Indian combat experience and is said to have killed

three Redmen with his own hands in a single engagement. Major commanded his Missouri cavalry regiment, served as aide to General Twiggs, and as acting chief of artillery on the staff of Van Dorn. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1863, and fought throughout the rest of the war with that rank.

Manning Marius Kimmel graduated a year after Major in 1857. He fought in the battle of Bull Run as a first lieutenant of the second United States cavalry but resigned shortly thereafter and entered the Confederate army. Kimmel attained the grade of major, was ordnance officer to Ben McCulloch and on the staff of Earl Van Dorn.

A classmate, John Sappington Marmaduke, resigned before Kimmel, became a lieutenant colonel of Arkansas troops, and colonel of the third Confederate infantry. Despite the many disagreements between Marmaduke and a number of his fellow officers, he rose to the highest grade attained by any Missouri West Pointer in the Confederacy, that of major general.

Charles Carroll Campbell graduated in May 1861, assisted in drilling troops in the defenses of Washington, and was then dismissed from the service for "tendering his resignation in the face of the enemy." As far as is ascertainable, the highest rank he held was that of major in the first Missouri infantry, C.S.A.

The only Missouri graduate in civil life when the war started was Meriwether Lewis Clark, son of William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Louisiana territory from 1804 to 1806. After much frontier duty, Clark had resigned in 1833 to become an architect and civil engineer in St. Louis. He was also a member of the Missouri legislature. In the Mexican war he served as major of a battalion of Missouri artillery. The years from 1848 to 1853 found him in the position of United States surveyor general of Missouri. In the service of the Confederacy he attained the grade of colonel, serving for the most part on the staff of General Bragg.

After the war, the Missouri graduates had varied careers. General Paul's cheerfulness and uncomplaining manner in

all his affliction set an example of fortitude for the twenty-one years he lived in blindness. His death occurred in Washington in 1886.

Easton, Dent, and Smith all attained the rank of colonel in the United States army. The first died in New York city in 1884, Dent eight years later in Denver, while Smith passed away in Buffalo in 1905. Plympton survived the war by but one year, dying in Galveston in 1866, while McArthur, who had retired from ill health in 1863 lived for thirty-nine years and was in Chicago at the time of his death.

Rollins and Alexander S. Clarke both left the service as captains in the after-war years, the former dying in St. Louis in 1898 while the latter became a physician in Brooklyn and died in Paris in 1909. The grade of brigadier general was attained by both Jones and Stickney. The former passed to the warriors' Valhalla in Washington the year the World war commenced, while the latter, who had lived in retirement since 1907, died at the ripe old age of eighty-one years in New York in 1925. With his death thus passed the last of the Missouri West Point graduates of the Civil War era.

The Missouri Confederates also had rather active civil careers. Major died in Austin, Texas, in 1877, after having been a planter in that state and in Louisiana, while Kimmel survived until 1916. He had been engaged in railroad work in Mexico and finally settled in Henderson, Kentucky, in the real estate business. His activities in municipal affairs carried him into the city council and on the school board.

Marmaduke became a commission merchant in St. Louis, was associated with an insurance company, and until 1875 edited several newspapers. He was later appointed state railroad commissioner and in 1885 was elected governor of his native State, but died two years later in Jefferson City.

The post war career of Campbell, at least as to early years is not known, but in 1880 he entered the service of the United States as a civil engineer in St. Louis, and died there in 1912. Clark established himself in Kentucky, as commandant of cadets and professor of mathematics at the Kentucky

military institute, and was architect of several state buildings as well. He died at Frankfort in 1881.

A number of the Missouri graduates thrived under the mellow hand of time and lived well past the milestone of three score years and ten. Easton lived to the age of seventy, Dent and M. L. Clark two years longer, Jones three, Campbell four, and Paul five. McArthur was seventy-seven when he journeyed on to join the other hardy warriors on the last camping ground.

William L. K. Morrison had been the youngest to die—at twenty-five, while Manning L. Kimmel lived to be eighty-three, and with his death in 1916, there passed the last of the Confederates, survived only by Amos Stickney who had been his opponent in Union Blue in the days of civil strife. The latter, as has been mentioned, was eighty-one years of age when the last call sounded in 1925.

Long before most of these men had died the United States had well come of age, and the future of the united people loomed brightly on the horizon. Those who had differed in years gone by had long since forgotten their dispute, and no doubt looked with bright new hopes and great expectations to the careers of their successors in arms, the Missouri graduates of West Point in the years then to come.

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## MISSOURI AND THE WAR

## PART VI

BY DOROTHY DYSART FLYNN<sup>1</sup>

The war has become a personal and inescapable fact to all of the citizens of Missouri. The beginning of the new year, the third year of this mighty and far flung conflict, finds Missourians fully awakened to their tremendous responsibility in the maintenance of the American way of living for which their sons, husbands, fathers, sweethearts, and even their daughters are fighting. They are impressed with the stark fact that this task is not, and will not be, an easy one; that it has, and will continue, to demand tremendous readjustments and great personal sacrifices. By the summer of 1943, if not before, every Missourian was cognizant of the great changes, and the further changes to come, in his way of living. General rationing and the virtual abandonment of the automobile had been taken in their stride, and the successful completion of the third war bond drive was a fitting testimonial to the civilians of their eagerness to "back the attack." Missourians tightened up their belts with vigor when the knowledge was brought home to them that this is the people's war too. Little has been said of the contributions, sacrifices, and adjustments that are having to be made during these heartbreakin days of struggle and triumphs. Little has been written of the complete mobilization of our civilians, but surely when the last shot is fired and the peace made, surely then some historian will devote some well deserved space to what the people on the home front contributed, for no true history can be written which does not take this into account.

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By the fall of 1943 citizens were faced not only with the rationing of most food stuffs, gasoline, fuel oils and clothing,

<sup>1</sup>DOROTHY DYSART FLYNN, a native Missourian, graduated from the school of journalism of Missouri University in 1932. She is now a research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

but they also were confronted by shortages in these same lines. Ration books one and two were wearing thin, ration book three was beginning to show its age and ration book four was gotten out in record time in October through the schools on presentation of book three.

## PIECES OF EIGHT

(Dedicated to the date October 1 and other similar days.)

The day is past . . . one of "those days" is past,  
That leaves me wan and withered in the blast.  
The time is here when, if too long you've dallied,  
Your ration coupons are no longer valid.  
I've spent each tiresome little square,  
And now am well supplied, with some to spare,  
And I can settle back, relax and smile,  
And put away the ration books a while.  
What's that upon the floor! Ye Gods! an eight!  
A "Z" in Red . . . a great big eight! . . . too late!  
'Twas overlooked . . . will bad luck never cease?  
We could have had a whole lamb chop apiece!

A. W. V.

The "milk boom" which had been going strong since 1940 forced the war production board to restrict deliveries to the June level. Milk sales were to be controlled through a system of dealer quotas, with dairies left free to apportion their supplies among customers on the basis of necessity. The new program went into effect in St. Louis and twelve other major population areas on October 1, with Kansas City and ten other metropolitan areas following on October 5. This step was taken to avoid adding milk to the ration list.

A new world's record was set in Kansas City last October when an estimated run of 57,000 head of cattle jammed and packed the stock yards, bettering by more than 5,000 the previous record established in Kansas City August 27, 1923. This shed no ray of cheer for meat eaters however, since a very small percentage was slaughter beef, and the OPA further dampened the hopes with the announcement that civilians would have to content themselves with 14 pounds per person less of meat and poultry in 1944. In St. Louis rationing got so tight that all but a few snooty rats were forced to

take their poison without meat, it was disclosed at the war emergency meeting of the National Pest Control association. What meat does find its way to rat traps—of course garnished with some lethal substance—has to come through ration boards who do not always appreciate the discriminating appetites of the rodent.

Mothers wept and wailed in September when school time rolled around and the clothing situation for children between the ages of 6 and 13 was found to be desperate. Every type of garment for children in that age group brought the response "Sorry, we don't have that. No, we don't know when we will."

Housewives faced with temporary shortages that are now becoming permanent shortages, generally have to substitute other products, use other brands, or go without—usually the latter.

#### MODERN MIRACLE

It used to be the stores  
Were in a sorry plight  
Because they'd say the customer  
Was always right!  
But now this war has done  
A lot of funny things  
Like growing each customer  
A pair of angel wings!  
You'll laugh right up your sleeve  
For it is a funny sight,  
To see the clerks getting tougher  
And the customers more polite!

Louis Tynan

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Most Missourians shivered through crisp fall days and looked ahead to an uncomfortably cool winter. "Throw another log on the fire" was out for the duration and a forecast of the fuel situation held little hope of averting a shortage of natural gas and fuel oil. In St. Louis a coal exchange was set up early in October to supply householders with an emergency supply of smokeless coal. Milton B. Redd, the exchange secretary said "This is strictly emergency service.

We will get the best coal we can for each person. And it is sent c.o.d." It was estimated that more than 50 per cent of the homes in St. Louis were without any coal or had only a negligible amount.

In Kansas City they espoused a voluntary dimout with homes and business houses making a special effort to use only essential lights. Mayor A. P. Kaufmann urged each St. Louisan to put forth a special effort to see that no utilities were wasted, declaring that "we cannot exert maximum force against our enemies if waste on the home front is tolerated."

When the new cut in value of B and C gas coupons was announced, rationing administrators held their breath waiting for the avalanche of loud protests, but the gas cut was accepted with calm and very little comment.

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Missouri farms went "over the top" in response to the WPB's demand for increased production. Except for the bumper harvest of 1942, 1943's crops were 4 per cent larger than any previous year. This was done in the face of acute labor shortages and the "going out of business" of so many Missouri farms. It took team work to get in the food stuff but Missourians found ingenious ways of meeting this problem. School children, business men, prisoners of war, women, soldiers—all did their share. Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham of Vernon county, both in their sixties, and a neighbor, even older, baled sixty acres of hay. Miss Sophia Brock gathered twenty-five crates of blackberries on her eighty-acre farm, in Barry county. A soldier in New Guinea wrote a Steelville merchant, one of the army of business and professional men who worked after hours on farms "I know you don't know me from Adam. My sister wrote and told me how all of Daddy's friends of Steelville had come out and helped with the wheat harvest. It made me feel so good that I thought I'd sit down and write you all a letter. In fact I can't find enough words to express my appreciation. I hope some day I may be able to return the good deed."

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"Blast away!" A campaign to collect fifteen million tons of scrap metal to keep America's blast furnaces roaring ahead

with war production was launched October 1. Enough scrap metal is rusting in St. Louis basements, attics, and garages to build a destroyer according to C. Clark Johnston, chairman of the OCD scrap metal committee, in his appeal to get every available ounce of scrap metal into victory scrap banks in the city. Many steel mills are faced with the prospect of having to shut down before winter is over, unless the full quota is reached.

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Young salvage commandos of the Gladstone school in Kansas City got "on the beam" and proudly reported a 400 per cent increase over their collection average in their grease-for-war campaign. Marching as a group for more than three miles over blocks in their school district, these young salvagers stopped at every corner to sing "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition," and in the middle of each block gave the commando shout "Give us grease for ammunition" in unison. At the end of the first week of their drive their poundage stood at 585 pounds. Housewives, either amused or inspired, "came through" in style for them!

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Missouri entered the autumn with full speed ahead from a summer that never knew the customary business lull, with bank deposits at an all time high in Kansas City, and with the generation of electric current almost a fourth above the output of a year ago. In St. Louis savings deposits actually increased in twenty-eight local banks during the third bond drive. Statistically this will be remembered as the year without a summer pause. Some who thought the third bond drive would reduce bank deposits in Kansas City were surprised when September ended with nearly 500 million dollars in Kansas City banks credited to firms, individuals, and public accounts.

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S-t-r-e-t-c-h- that shoe stamp was a household "buyword" in November when the next shoe ration stamp became effective due to the OPA announcement that it would have to last six rather than four months. In naming stamp No. 1 on the airplane sheet of ration book 3 as the coupon for the period start-

ing November 1, OPA also announced that the expiration date of stamp 18 in book 1 was indefinitely extended. Its use was to overlap the new stamp which also had no expiration date. This was done in an attempt to forestall last minute rushes and to permit families to budget their needs over a longer period. Shoe repair shops are doing a rushing business these days, requiring from two days to three weeks to make the necessary repairs.

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Thanksgiving loomed on the horizon with most Missourians "talking turkey" last November. Although the government's "freeze" was relaxed early in October, the turkey became the "little bird that wasn't there" and housewives went right on planning on all the "trimmin's" without the bird that usually graces the Thanksgiving table. Dealers reported plenty of turkeys "on the hoof," but poultry houses were suffering from such an acute shortage of experienced help that the future looked bleak.

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Seventy-five nights before Christmas found Missouri homes in a state of much confusion. Christmas paper and wrappings cluttered up the place while families and friends of the men overseas stood three deep around "canteen" departments in order to choose Christmas gifts and get them in the mail before October 15, army, or November 1, navy, deadlines. Department stores reported the largest sale of gift items ever experienced in the month of October. Post-office records showed an increase of 500 per cent in overseas packages compared to a year ago.

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Jolly St. Nick put in an early appearance this year with the admonition that "the early shopper gets the booty." While there were toys of some kind, enough for every child, it was definitely a war Christmas for little Miss and Mister America—a substitute Christmas with wood, plastic, and fabrics replacing the good old metal toys and bisque dolls that brought such "Ohs! and Ahs!" Christmas morning.

**THE WOMEN BEHIND THE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS**

Some of the pioneer spirit of the early Missourians may account for the five Missouri women who have won their wings as members of the women's air force service—the formal name for the Wasps. Their job is to fly, and they do, more than sixteen different kinds of planes including advanced training ships, which are just about as difficult to handle as the biggest bombers. Mrs. Adela Ricks Scharr of St. Louis, Lois Hollingsworth of University City, and Elinore Owen of Kansas City were the three "charter members" from Missouri. During the fall of 1943 Inez Woodard of St. Louis and Isabel Madison of Crystal City were graduated from Avenger field at Sweetwater, Texas.

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Captain Evelyn Burk Nicholson of St. Louis, who was second in command of the Wacs during the North African campaign, back on leave, said "The army women kept secrets so well, were so helpful in planning the Sicilian campaign, that army officers have asked General Dwight D. Eisenhower for their assistance in mapping future campaigns." Captain Nicholson reported that the Wacs in Africa worked from 12 to 15 hours a day seven days a week!

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Lieutenant Roberta Cross, A.N.C., of Kansas City is seeing the map of the world change as she travels with a field evacuation hospital group that has seen action in North Africa and followed closely behind the invasion forces when they forged ahead into Sicily and Italy.

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"To a Latin American the sight of women working in war plants is amazing; we're used to seeing our women in the kitchen" one of a group of nine Central American newspaper editors and reporters declared after an inspection trip through the St. Louis ordnance plant. "It doesn't seem to have hurt their looks though."

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Female figures are looming large in the calculations of the war manpower commission. Their demand is for an ever

increasing number of women to "take over," the figure being roughly set for 1,100,000 more women in jobs including the services and nonfarm work by the summer of 1944. This would bring the total number of feminine workers to the unprecedented high of eighteen million.

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In St. Louis a paralyzing freight jam was broken up last October when the St. Louis ordinance depot used women drivers, escorted by police, to transport equipment to railroad loading points for shipment to army camps and ports of embarkation and to move other vital supplies, when a two day "wildcat strike" had traffic and industry in a snarl.

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Henrietta Sharon had an idea and that idea of a former Kansas City girl has been acclaimed in the Library of Congress as "the most valuable piece of Americana to come out of the war." This bright idea was to have the servicemen's favorite songs illustrated by some of the country's topnotch artists and put on slides for camp singing.

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When Emily Alexander was a little girl in Missouri she loved to sew and today she is in her glory for she is serving as women's clothing consultant for the quartermaster corp in Washington seeing that women's army uniforms are adapted to the climatic demands of global warfare.

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On Friday, October 22, 1943, the David R. Francis unit of the women's army corp, was sworn into service at a ceremony at the state capitol in Jefferson City. It was the first all Missouri unit and consisted of fifty-six women. Included in this number was a mother and daughter combination from Kansas City, Mrs. Frank C. Smiley and her daughter Evelyn. "I'm going into the Wac because mother wanted to," smiled Evelyn.

A St. Louis mother, Mrs. Pearl Bonine followed her daughter into service on receipt of a postcard from her son that he is a prisoner of the Japanese. At the induction ceremony Mrs. Bonine was accompanied by her daughter, Staff Sergeant La Verne Bonine.

## POST WAR WOMEN

What will become of all these women when  
All of their valiant wartime work is done—  
When the poor battered dove of peace again  
May preen bedraggled feathers in the sun?  
Will they turn gladly back to quiet ways;  
Back to the humbler tasks of life once more;  
Unnoticed by a heedless world; their days  
Unspurred by martial music or the roar  
Of clamorous machines? Will kitchens, small,  
Seem but like stuffy prisons hot and strange?  
Or, doffing uniforms and coveralls,  
Will they find kitchen aprons fair exchange?  
Will eyes, that have seen far horizons, glow  
As jellies, jelly in a crimson row?

Mabel Freer Loveridge

With so many mothers participating in the war effort, Missourians faced, along with the rest of the nation, a rising tide of juvenile delinquency. Parents in Kansas City were quick to agree with the Jackson county grand jury in blaming the increase in the number of delinquents on the breakdown of home training, ascribing the letdown to economic and social adjustments brought on by war conditions. One of the suggested remedies which brought a storm of "no!" was that of the 11 o'clock curfew for youths under 17 years of age. At a public hearing several parents expressed the opinion that the curfew would brand the entire youth of Kansas City for the misdeeds of only forty or fifty youngsters. The proposed ordinance sagged heavily under opposition and a formal finding of disapproval resulted in the recommendation that the measure be killed.

\* St. Louis felt the situation to be so serious that the mayor formed a juvenile commission who recommended a teen-age curfew to keep youngsters off the street at night. Early in October FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated "As a nation we have failed to realize the seriousness of the increase in youthful crime since the outbreak of the war. Here is a problem that is approaching a national scandal." Remedial measures taken by several communities to meet the de-

linquency problem were cited by the OWI survey. Among those which drew praise was the "Teen Town" of Columbia, Missouri, with a boy mayor and a council of three boys and three girls.

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Hugging the heels of juvenile delinquency and part and parcel of the same, came an alarming drop in school attendance records in Missouri in September 1943. A "Back-to-school" campaign was launched by Mayor A. P. Kaufmann and other community leaders in St. Louis. They termed school an "essential job" and implemented the war manpower commission's plea that youngsters return to school by providing more than one thousand jobs on a swing-shift plan to give practical work experience to two thousand seniors past 16 years of age.

Final tabulations showed a drop of 765 high school students in Kansas City with 4,000 of the 12,534 enrolled hurrying off to part-time after school jobs.

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Never has a war had such unanimous support of all the people as in the present struggle. The spirit of sacrifice is the greatest need of the nation and was much in evidence during the third war bond rally. Just five months after the second bond drive, when Missourians apparently bled their pocketbooks dry, Missouri again went over the top by becoming the thirteenth state to reach its quota. St. Louisans were asked to purchase \$180,675,900 as their portion and the figure seemed so fantastic as to be laughable. Yet in a burst of civic endeavor, a testimonial to the people of St. Louis, this gigantic figure was reached and an oversubscription of \$13,727,869 was recorded at the end of the twenty-four day drive which ended at midnight, October 2.

Kansas City smashed over the top in twenty-one days with an impressive total of \$78,646,199. A last minute surge brought an oversubscription of \$1,322,899 to make Kansas City become one of the first major cities to reach its quota.

At Mountain Grove, Missouri, the mayor declared a business holiday which enabled the city to exceed its third

war loan quota in one day by 50 per cent. Total sales were \$60,000 while the quota was for only \$44,000.

Mansfield, Missouri, opened its bond drive with a rally and pie supper and netted more than its quota the first night.

Without taking time for a "breather," Kansas Citians, fresh from their success in the third bond rally, turned their efforts toward the humanitarian side of the war—that of raising \$2,300,000 to maintain essential home front health and welfare service, to send basic food and medical supplies to twelve allied nations, and to provide recreation for American men in uniform.

The greater St. Louis war chest drive got under way October 28, aspiring toward a total of \$5,265,000, as their part of the 125 million dollar goal of the national war chest fund campaign which was opened by the President on October 5. Six thousand communities throughout the United States held campaigns during October.

MEMO TO UNCLE SAM

The tax you plan for us next year  
Has made the nation gasp;  
To figure it will be, I fear  
    Beyond my poor mind's grasp.

I'll mail my weekly pay to you;  
I promise not to pare it;  
Just send me back a buck or two  
    When you can spare it.

Pier.

Greater Kansas City pulled the Red Cross donor center from a dangerous two week slump in the middle of September to set an impressive new record of 2816 pints of lifesaving blood, tippling over the mark that had stood for four months. A boon to the out of state patriots who want to contribute came when the ODT approved the use of busses in bringing donors from nearby localities.

In St. Louis the Red Cross blood donor service received its second army-navy production award in September for "meritorious services to the war effort." The donor center

was opened the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Two mobile units assist in the collection of the present weekly quota which is limited by the amount blood laboratories can process into plasma.

Captain Francis A. Carmichael of the army medical corps, recently returned from North Africa, said that the use of blood plasma was one of the big factors in the success of the North African campaign. He added that "We can't buy it. We have to count on persons giving their blood for plasma."

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Weary feet and heavy hearts were assuaged early in September in Kansas City when the national housing agency called for the creation of five hundred housing units by converting privately owned homes or buildings into apartment dwellings for war workers. This public program, under the federal government through the HOLC, leases for a period up to seven years existing structures, which are suitable for conversion. The property will be handled through government leases. War worker status is a prerequisite for obtaining one of the apartments which will rent for from \$31 to \$50 with additional charges for utilities in proportion to the size of the apartment. Cooking and refrigeration facilities will be furnished.

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Thanks to a Missouri inventor, the American boys' tents are now being kept at "room temperature." Sam P. Locke, of Mexico, Missouri, back in 1930 found himself financially embarrassed to such a point that he had to make each penny do double duty. One way was to buy the cheapest coal, but after paying for it and carting it home he found, much to his consternation, that it wouldn't burn! Now Locke had once been a service man for stokers, he had studied engineering in his college days, and he was annoyed enough that he decided to find some way to make even poor coal burn. He did. In 1942 he sold four hundred thousand of these "warm morning" stoves, as he named them, to the United States government, and during 1943 more than two thousand a day. The government

made Sam Locke's stoves standard equipment for soldiers, sailors, and marines on duty on the scattered war fronts, as well as in the continental bounds of the United States.

Cellophane that had come wrapped around a shirt was first used by Dr. D. C. McKeever, formerly of Kansas City, on the sliding surface of a joint and the wound allowed to heal. This was a startling innovation in the treatment of blasted arms and legs. So miraculous were the results that it is saving thousands of our boys the use of arms and legs that would otherwise have been rigid from scar tissue.

"And proudly it waved." In September the tri-colored flag of the war production board waved over the Missouri state prison, emblematic of the outstanding contribution of some two hundred of the inmates. Convict employees of the prison have turned out sixty-nine thousand suits for the army, forty thousand shirts for the navy, twenty-five thousand denim overalls for British seamen and grown \$300,000 worth of foodstuffs since the war began.

All of the dormitories of the Southeast Missouri State Teachers college at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, have been taken over for the Navy V-12 program which included apprentice seamen from twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia during the first semester of 1943.

The first dean of the Missouri school of journalism and the first president of the press conference of the world, the late Walter Williams, a former president of Missouri university, will be among those honored by the naming of a Liberty ship now under construction on the Pacific coast.

Shadowed by the Himalayas, the world's highest mountains, and plunging through thick jungles and high country from Ledo in northeast India to upper Burma, American white and negro engineer troops are forging a new road. This road will form a link with the famous Burma road to give us once again a land route for military supplies to China.

The builder of this road is Brigadier General John C. Arrowsmith of Kansas City, who was sent to Burma just after the closing of the Burma road. Under the protection of Chinese troops and with the help of Indian native labor, the new road has already been surveyed into upper Burma.

"After the war, what?" is a question that every thinking American is asking himself, whether he is serving on the battlefield or "keeping the home fires burning." So many remember the breadlines, the gangsters, the panic, and the suicides resulting from the chaos of World war I, that constructive thinking and planning is already underway for a post-war world in which every one will have a place and a job to do. Mayor A. P. Kaufmann, recalling that the metropolitan centers were the hardest hit after the other war when "there had been no preparation for the peace," stated that it is the aim of the officials of St. Louis to have definite plans prepared so that when the war ends the city will be in a position to start immediately on a general construction program which will assure jobs to the men returning from the armed services. These plans are being made through the metropolitan plan association for St. Louis and adjoining counties.

In Columbia, Missouri, a post-war planning council was organized late in the summer of 1943 and once a month the council reports in an open meeting of the chamber of commerce before the citizens who are made to feel free to offer any suggestions and further activities toward working out a well organized plan for the post-war era.

Flood protection will be Kansas City's No. 1 post-war project according to Mayor Gage, and plans are already underway to plan for the post-war period and the difficulties and problems that it will bring.

#### MISSOURI HEROES ON LAND, ON SEA, IN THE AIR.

To the staccato accompaniment of bursting bombs and machine gun fire, the American "Desert Rats," who have played tag with the German air force from Egypt to central Italy, carried the air war into Jugoslav territory last October

in support of the patriot forces there. Under the command of Colonel Arthur G. Salisbury of Sedalia, Missouri, United States bombers, for the first time in history, attacked shipping in the "inland passage" between two German strongholds. This mission, and others that followed, was a signal to the Jugoslavs that the unchallenged Nazi air supremacy of their country was at an end. Major General James H. Doolittle paid an unexpected visit to the base of this outfit which first saw action in Egypt with the eighth army and presented the Sedalia ace with the D.F.C. Colonel Salisbury had already been awarded the coveted legion of merit, the air medal with four clusters, the purple heart, and the British distinguished flying cross.

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It was one of those "technicolor" days in New Guinea—never had the sky been bluer or the air more balmy, when eighteen Missouri paratroopers "sailed through the air with the greatest of ease" to take an active part in paratroop operations preceding the fall of the Japanese stronghold of Lae. This was the first action of its kind in the southwest Pacific but was successfully executed under the watchful eyes of Generals MacArthur and Kenney who flew with the troops. "It was our first time under fire, but everybody acted coolly; I expected we would be nervous, but in the jungle things happen so quickly you don't have time to think about them before they occur" was the comment of Pfc. Emmett M. Walker of Marshall, Missouri.

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"We were in Italy, the first American soldiers to land on the mainland of Hitler's famed European fortress. It was a big moment, but we didn't have time to relish or enjoy it. All at once hell broke loose. From two points on each side of the beach machine-gun fire opened up and the air was filled with a steady conveyor belt of tracer bullets. I had never had any lessons in the business, but in about three seconds I became the most expert fox-hole-digger in Italy. Like a hound hunting a favorite bone, I made the sand fly until I was a good two feet nearer China" was the way war correspondent Ralph H. Major, Jr., of Kansas City, a former

member of the Star staff, described the allied landing in Italy. His story was written "under fire" with the typewriter he had used for a "comically futile bulwark" only a few miles from the beach while German planes strafed the area.

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Lieutenant (jg) Paul E. Coughlin, of Edina, Missouri, became known all over this country as the navy flier who "rode herd" on 150 Italians and was credited with their capture. A forward patrol was having a little difficulty gaining a hill when Lieutenant Coughlin went into action and after about four runs of fixed and free gunfire, white flags and Italians made a sudden appearance. "I flew low and motioned them to go in the direction of our troops; their movement was hurried and guided by the very accurate fire of the radioman. We rode herd on them. When one would start to stray or they would start spreading, shots were fired close to the stragglers. This worked well and they gathered forces as they went forward."

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St. Louisans like to boast of one of their native sons, Colonel Herman H. Hanneken of the marine corps in the South Pacific, who is one of the most decorated men in the United States. He was awarded the silver star for gallantry at Guadalcanal, his tenth award for valor which includes the congressional medal of honor and two navy crosses. "Although outnumbered, outflanked, and occupying an untenable position, the marine battalion inflicted heavy casualties upon the Japanese landing force until withdrawn to a new position from which it launched a successful attack against the enemy," read the citation.

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A true story of heroism and love of battle can be told of Private Donald L. Evans, Kansas City, and his comrade in battle, Private Newman Harrington, Parkville, members of the same marine outfit somewhere in the thick of the South Pacific fighting. It was during the battle of Guadalcanal and the two privates were crawling along with an advance sniper patrol. Some of their companions were hit and Evans and Harrington picked up a stretcher to go to their aid although

that put them in the direct line of fire. Evans was wounded and Harrington pulled him into a foxhole, where they crouched for three hours, and later took Evans to a first aid station for "repairs." The Japanese attacked and Evans and the other wounded were carried to a dugout. Fate was at Evans' heels that day for added to the noise of battle was the fury of a sudden tropical storm, which was fast filling the dugout with water. Evans crawled from his stretcher to get help to prevent the wounded from being drowned. Evans was evacuated to a hospital by plane, but in about nine days he was "fed up." Things were happening fast and he was just looking on. He managed to stowaway on a convoy that was being sent to relieve the marine contingent on Guadalcanal. One of the first persons Evans saw on landing was his buddy, Private Harrington. At the hospital it had been assumed that Evans had deserted "but all he wanted was to get back in the fight with Dale" the father of Harrington explained.

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Probably written by a Missouri lad who is "down there" the following poem is both quoted and sung by the armed forces in the Southwest Pacific.

#### TROPICAL PARADISE

Somewhere in the Pacific where the sun is like a curse  
And each day is followed by another slightly worse,  
Where the coral dust blows thicker than the drifting desert sand,  
And a white man dreams and curses and prays for a better land.

Somewhere in the Pacific where a girl is never seen,  
Where the sky is never cloudy and the grass is never green,  
Where the flying fox's chatter robs a man of blessed sleep,  
And there isn't any whiskey and for beer the briny deep.

Somewhere in the Pacific where the nights are made for love,  
Where the moon is like a searchlight, and the Southern Cross above,  
Sparkles like a diamond necklace in a gorgeous tropic night,  
It's a shameless waste of beauty when I cannot hold you tight.

Somewhere in the Pacific where the mail is always late,  
Where a Christmas card in April is considered up to date,  
Where we never have a payday and we never have a cent,  
But we never miss the money cause we never get it spent.

Somewhere in the Pacific where the ants and lizards play,  
And a hundred new mosquitoes take the place of one we slay,  
Take me back to old Missouri, let me roam the frosty dell,  
For this God-forsaken outpost is a substitute for Hell.

The first presidential citation ever to be awarded in St. Louis was presented to Seaman Robert J. Lewis of Cuba, Missouri, "for outstanding performance . . . against enemy Japanese forces off Savo Island in the Solomon Islands on the night of October 11-12 and again in the morning of November 13, 1942" read the citation in part. Seaman Lewis was on the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* at Pearl Harbor. He and three buddies were caught below deck when their ship was hit and "turned turtle." They managed to save themselves by diving and swimming from compartment to filling compartment for two and a half hours. They finally escaped through portholes and swam under water until exhaustion forced them to the surface. Lewis was later transferred to the *U.S.S. San Francisco* which on November 13 "silenced and disabled an enemy battleship at 3,000 yards, sank an enemy destroyer and damaged two other enemy vessels." During this latter engagement Lewis was blown from the deck and floated for seven and one-half hours before being picked up by an American ship. Lewis is now at the naval training school, electrical, in St. Louis.

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Landlocked Lamar, in southwest Missouri, a community of less than three thousand population and about as far from sea water as North American geography permits, has the distinction of providing the navy with the commander of the U. S. submarine fleet in the Pacific, Rear Admiral Charles A. Lockwood, Jr., and the commander of the U. S. submarine fleet in the Atlantic, Rear Admiral Freeland A. Daubin. Service historians recall nothing to approach this since 1919 when the long arm of coincidence was stretched when the late Admiral Robert E. Coontz of Hannibal and General John J. Pershing of Laclede, Missouri, were confirmed as chief of naval operations and general of the armies of the United States, respectively. As though this wasn't overwhelming

enough, coincidence went one step better and named Lieutenant Commander Dorothy C. Stratton as director of the women's reserve of the U. S. coast guard, Spars. She formerly attended school in Lamar where her father was a Baptist minister.

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Home on leave in October from service as flight leader on Guadalcanal, Captain William J. Cargill, a Kansas Citian, in explaining why the Yanks score victories against great odds, said "In the first place there is perfect teamwork of the army, navy and marine forces. It is the best oiled machine you ever saw." Captain Cargill said that the enemy does not know teamwork. Each Jap flyer is an individualist and "It seems that most Japs are poorly trained. About one out of ten Jap flyers is well trained, tough, clever and hard to beat. When we go against that fellow we know it instantly and have a real battle on our hands." Captain Cargill says that the real fun will start after Germany has been given her licking and the full force of the United Nations can be turned on the Janapese. "There's been many a day when ten or twenty of our planes have been challenged by a hundred Zeros, or even more, and we've come out on top. The fun will be when 100 of our planes can take on a handful of Japs. That'll be like shooting fish in a barrel."

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"It looks to me like a good job well done" said Major Thomas Kaufman Taylor, home in St. Louis on furlough. "After my last mission over Milan before I was given leave I was thrilled, in discussion with other officers, to realize how much has been done with relatively small loss to us." Major Taylor, a squadron commander and pilot of a flying fortress, is believed to be one of the youngest officers of his rank in the American air forces. Major Taylor has been awarded the distinguished flying cross, the air medal and ten oak leaf clusters for accomplished missions and has been recommended for the silver star for gallantry. Each member of the crew, identical on all operations, has been similarly decorated, he said.

Major General Lloyd E. Jones, who received his education at the University of Missouri at Columbia, recently spoke to a group of his friends there. General Jones who headed the expedition that occupied Amchitka in the first move toward the expulsion of the Japanese from Kiska and Attu said that he was "optimistic about the whole thing. The American soldier is the best, the most intelligent, the most courageous in the world, and he is a constant challenge to his leadership. I owe a great deal of my success to their strong legs and stout hearts."

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Facing certain death if captured, a Missourian, General Maxwell Taylor of Keytesville, Missouri, was one of the two American officers who "pulled a sneak" on the Nazis by slipping under their noses to confer with Marshall Pietro Badgolio a few hours before the invasion at Salerno. He and Colonel William T. Gardiner, a former governor of Maine, boldly went into the Nazi-held capital wearing American army uniforms, minus caps, traveling mostly by automobile and frequently passing within a few feet of Nazi soldiers to spend twenty hours conferring with Badgolio and other officials.

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It was a proud day for Mr. and Mrs. Rolla Manning of Brandsville, Missouri when the *U.S.S. Manning*, sleek and formidable destroyer escort vessel, was christened at the Charleston navy yards last September for the *U.S.S. Manning* was a posthumous honor for their son, Milburn A. Manning, an aviation machinist mate third class, who was killed in action at Pearl Harbor.

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#### IN MEMORY OF HEROES

On this green bank, by this soft stream,  
We set today a votive stone,  
That memory may their deed redeem  
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

Spirit that made those heroes dare  
To die, and leave their children free,  
Bid Time and Nature gently spare  
The shaft we raise to them and thee!

From the "Concord Hymn" by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Slugging it out with more than twice their number, choosing to fight when there was ample time to "go away to come back to fight another day," ten tight-lipped American youths demonstrated once and for all their supremacy over the best fighter of Germany—the Messerschmitt 109.

All belonged to the famed "Timber Wolves," a hard-hitting squadron of P-38's. This was in Sicily in August 1943. Out of the swirlwind of planes that kept troops and seamen tense and breathless, and their eyes glued to that "fight to the finish" transpiring in front of their eyes for twelve thrilling minutes, five planes hurtled to the earth, all German. Not a single P-38 was lost. Lieutenant William A. Clark of St. Louis was credited with downing one of the Messerschmitts. The battle was even, that is except in regard to the number of planes. That was a 24-10 odds, with the odds in favor of the enemy. The planes met at the same altitude, each seeking the other. Performance, fire-power, tactics, and men directed the result. The test was one of the best and the victory one of the most clean-cut of the war. After it was over the ground controller relayed to the pilots a message from the naval commander in charge. "Well done," it said simply.

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On October 21, 1943, the first exchange of approximately five thousand wounded British, Canadian, and Australian soldiers and fourteen Americans for a similar number of German invalids was completed. Among the Americans was one Missourian, Staff Sergeant Milton K. Williams of St. Louis, who bailed out during the first daylight raid on Bremen, April 17. He lost a leg while helping a buddy to leave the plane. The repatriates said one of the main needs of the prisoners still held in prison camps is for more Red Cross packages.

#### TO THOSE COMING AFTER

These were war days. The black of headlines screaming  
Through summer, and the men all gone or going,  
And restless children crying out, their dreaming  
Disturbed, too young for the stern burden, knowing.

And yet it proved a time when small things counted,  
A letter in the mails, a garden planted,  
And every day the precious minutes mounted  
With neither love nor life assumed for granted.

It was an evil time, a time chastising,  
But out of it came strength and bitter learning;  
These were the days of war, days agonizing,  
And though you did not stand and see worlds burning.

And few alive remember, it was so,  
Before this peace and plenty that you know.

Marcia Nichols Holden

## MISSOURIANA

- Melodies and Soft Shoes in Blackface  
The Houn' Dawg Regiment  
Missouri, The Name  
The Bloody Saline of the Salt River Country  
Missouri Miniatures—Kate Chopin, Jessie L. Gaynor  
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri  
Missouri Scrapbook

### MELODIES AND SOFT SHOES IN BLACKFACE

The boy who first spied the gaudy lithographs on the town's billboards ran pell-mell toward his small cronies shouting the wonderful news—the minstrels were coming! The undertow of small talk carried the tantalizing announcement of their approach until the town was raging with excitement.

Then there was the arrival of the troupe itself. Wagons appeared miraculously, parading the splendor of long-tailed coats, walking sticks, tall hats, gold-buttoned and laced bands-men flamboyantly blowing "solid gold" instruments. Here was the splendor of the world for small hearts pounding with excitement and eyes bright with the anticipated fantasy.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, minstrel troupes had been organized in 1842 by Edwin Christy and had toured the East before similar small bands made their appearance along the rivers of Missouri in the fifties. Size, however, did not detract from the glamour that surrounded them in the West.

On the momentous evening after a feverish supper came the walk to a stuffy little theater or opera house. A few notes trembled around the corner enticing hurried footsteps as the preliminary concert blared forth its invitation to the town. The house was always hot, the air inside stifling, and the excitement kept the audience, especially the smaller half, in an only partially subdued confusion.

At last with a delighted intake of breath from the crowd the curtain went up, disclosing a magic circle of bright lights and shining blackfaces, freshly daubed with burnt cork. Then the dignified interlocutor took his place in the middle of

the stage and uttered the traditional introduction: "Gentlemen, be seated. We will commence with the overture."

Bones captured the chair at one end of the semicircle and Tambo leaped on the other. Immediately they began their attack on the pompous interlocutor with the repetitious catch question and answer dialogues. Always the middleman showed a ridiculous figure against the overwhelming wit and capers of the endmen. Either might break out at any moment in a comic song.

Many of the songs that were popular with the troupes had been composed by the minstrels themselves. Besides the lyrics of Stephen Foster, there were those of Dan Emmett, one of the earliest minstrels,—"Old Dan Tucker," "Walk Along John," and "Early in the Morning." Perhaps the best known of his was "Dixie" which began as a walk-around in a New Orleans burlesque.

Music was generally offered by other members of the cast. "Celebrated violinists" always received prominent billing though often it was the banjo that brought tears to the eyes of the audience. The bones of the endman and the tambourine were usually present.

Hannibal waited breathlessly the arrival in November 1856 of the Empire minstrels who had among the troupe a violinist, formerly with White's Serenaders, a well-known eastern minstrel troupe. Their program included "songs, choruses, dances, solos, and burlesques." Another actor worthy of special mention was the silver-throated tenor warbling sentimental ballads about "ole Virginny," home, mother, and forlorn Irish maidens.

In May 1858, Hannibal was again entertained by a minstrel troupe. Unlike most companies the personnel included a woman, a young danseuse who "will draw all the young men who admire youth, beauty and gracefulness." Other performers were advertised as the "king of Bones and Quintessence of old Virginny," a negro jester, a favorite ballad singer, a well-known banjoist who was formerly of White's minstrels and who doubled as the basso, and a violinist. A stage was erected in the hall to enable all to see and extra seats were added for the occasion. The audience was highly

pleased by the "comicalities" and interrupted the program often with "shouts of applause."

In the following July, the Billy Birch minstrels accompanied a circus that stormed the same town. This troupe, which had been popular in both San Francisco and New York only a few years before and now was touring the country, had just completed an engagement of 150 nights at St. Louis.

On the deck of the steamboat, *Banjo*, the Birch minstrels offered a variety of new attractions. Popular national melodies, northern and southern eccentricities were now interspersed with jigs, breakdowns, and clog dances. Such mechanical exercises were certainly not native to the original negro soft shoe dances of buck and wing. An early negro dance had gone as follows: "Wheel about, turn about;—Do jus' so; —An' ebery time I turn about,—I jump Jim Crow." Now the white minstrel in blackface sang impudent songs in a broken Irish or German dialect. Most pretentious, probably, on the program was the parody on grand opera.

Ten years later when minstrelsy was in its heyday, the New Orleans minstrels visited Macon affording a rich treat to the town, according to the local editor. A feminine singer whose voice "which, for power and scope, is surpassed by few" sang "Hear Me, Norma," and evidently was audible to the farthest corner.

In 1867, Leddy and Dixie's minstrels appeared in Booneville and returned in 1870 for another engagement. They had just finished a tour of the southern states and could dazzle the eyes of provincial Missourians with several stars who had been with eastern and larger companies.

By the eighties, the original band with its breezy songs, nimble dances, and flippant quips was transformed by the hope of improving quality by expanding quantity. The first part of the evening was surrounded with Oriental magnificence and glitter. When Haverly's Mastodon Minstrels visited St. Louis in 1882, the bass drum, towering aloft, boasted there were forty members. The chorus had been enlarged, the musicians multiplied and the endmen operated in relays. An added attraction was the presence of "the only Leon" of the celebrated Kelly and Leon troupe of "Africanized opera

bouffle" which had been organized in 1867 and had been very popular throughout the country. The boast was more than made good by the presence of at least half a dozen performers in addition to the forty.

By this time the troupe was accompanied by a corps of business agents and a manager who replaced the owner while on tour. The minstrel show was no longer a series of skits by a loosely organized band but a regular business with as much management as the circus that also made its annual tour.

By the turn of the century, however, the minstrel show had declined in importance as an entertainment factor. Its program was limited and monotonous, and its personnel was usually entirely masculine—certainly a handicap in the theatrical world. The music hall and the variety show were usurping its former glory.

#### THE HOUN' DAWG REGIMENT

Wunst me 'n' Lem Briggs 'n' ol' Bill Brown  
Tuk a load of cawn to town,  
An' ol' Jim dawg, the onry cuss,  
He jes' nachelly follored us.

#### CHORUS

Every time I come to town  
The boys keep kickin' my dawg aroun'.  
Makes no dif'rence if he is a houn',  
They got to quit kickin' my dawg aroun'.

As we driv' past Sam Johnson's store  
Passel o' yawps kem out th' door;  
When Jim he stops to smell a box;  
They shied at him a bunch of rocks.

They tied a tin can to his tail  
An' run him apast the county jail,  
'N' that plum nachelly made me sore—  
'N' Lem he cussed 'n' Bill he swore.

Me 'n' Lem Briggs 'n' ol' Bill Brown  
We lost no time in a jumpin' down,  
An' we wiped them ducks up on the ground  
Fer kickin' my ol' dawg aroun'.

Folks say a dawg kain't hold no grudge  
But wunst when I got too much budge,  
Them town ducks tried to do me up,  
But they didn't count on ol' Jim pup.

Jim seed his duty thar an' then,  
An' he lit into them gentlemen,  
An' he shore mussed up the courthouse square  
With rags 'n' meat 'n' hide 'n' hair.

You may look down your nose at a hound dog, any place—except in Missouri. Here he is, along with the mule, ready to carry the name of Missouri throughout the world. Take him how you will, couchant with utter exhaustion and boredom, or with muddy feet—rampant with affection. Remember to do him honor; he is not to be trifled with.

So it is not a matter for scorn that the old second infantry of the Missouri national guard, made up of sturdy Ozarkians jealous of their independence, was known as the "Houn' Dawg" regiment. Ask any Missourian and he can give you one of a dozen yarns why this apt nickname graced the outfit.

As one of the tales goes, the regiment was in Camp Clark, Nevada, Missouri, during the campaign of Champ Clark for the Democratic nomination for president. The band, for its reveille march, skirled out with Clark's popular campaign song, "They Got To Quit Kickin' My Dawg Aroun'." This is one of the oldest Ozark songs and is supposed to be descended from an old English air, "The Houn' Dawg." If age means respectability, this melody carries its own dignity, despite its jauntiness. As it is not too difficult for even the most amateur band, it gave the trombones a chance for embroidery and a few hotlicks in contemporary musical vocabulary. Less informal regiments christened the Ozarkians with the subject of their gay ballad and the name stuck.

The second infantry was the result of the coalition of several separate military units of southwest Missouri at Nevada, October 24, 1890. Its formal debut before the public took place the following February 21, soon after the completion of organization, when Governor David R. Francis ordered the regiment to mobilize in St. Louis and serve as the military escort at the funeral of General William T. Sherman.

By August, the second had abandoned public parades for dusty drilling in the field at Lake Contrary near St. Joseph. At the opening of the world's fair at Chicago, Colonel William K. Caffee of the second infantry commanded the six hundred men from the different state regiments that represented the Missouri national guard.

Rumors of a probable early war with Spain rippled through the summer training camps of the nineties, intensifying popular enthusiasm for peacetime study of shot and shell. When war actually broke out in April 1898, the second infantry joined as volunteers and mobilized at Jefferson Barracks to be mustered into the federal army on May 12 as the second Missouri volunteer infantry. Off they went by train to the rocks and pines of Chickamauga park, Georgia, to drill and practice target shooting with the new Springfield rifle. Of course many of the men were not equipped with arms, but rumors floated about the camp that they all would receive guns, perhaps in a short time, and eventually they might see Puerto Rico. In the meantime, they fought colds and fevers, especially typhoid, the most dangerous enemy of the entire war.

Official reports collapsed the excitement: the second was not included in the army of General Wade. As a consolation, camp was broken and the regiment moved to a broad meadow; new tents were used and a little privacy offered—this time only four men to a tent! An added fillip was given by a major's announcement that the president himself had promised that the regiment would most likely be sent to Cuba in the fall. Since the war was practically over, "I-want-to-go-home" echoed throughout the camp. Thirty-day convalescent furloughs minimized the monotony. The regiment moved to the blue grass plains in Kentucky and then back to boggy red clay in Albany, Georgia. Amid pouring Southern rains floated constant rumors—they would go to Cuba, they would be mustered out, they would spend the winter in the South.

They were finally mustered out in February and March 1899, and returned to their guard status. The biggest excitement of the post-war period was the passing of the old blue woolen uniforms in 1902; khaki was now the order of the day.

In that dress the regiment was reviewed by President Theodore Roosevelt and ex-President Grover Cleveland at the dedication of the St. Louis world's fair.

Summer camps were held at various places throughout the State and at Fort Riley until 1909 when a reservation of 640 acres about three miles southeast of Nevada was chosen for a rifle range. Rumors of mobilization because of the unrest along the Mexican border in 1911 raised popular enthusiasm but when the regiment was not called into active service, attendance fell off drastically.

The next year made up for their disappointment. For the first time in its history the regiment saw their summer training approach actual war time conditions. Except on Sunday and nightly rests at camps, the troops practiced a running fight maneuver for nine days.

Trouble with Mexico was continually threatened for the next two years. In June 1916, the regiment was called into service and until January 1917, served in Laredo, Texas, and on patrol duty on the Rio Grande in anticipation of raids by Villa and the Mexicans. Unfortunately, the only action the troops saw were the dust storms that threatened to suffocate them, the ants, lizards, and tarantulas that disputed their coming, a hurricane, and a rain storm that wrecked the tents.

With the outbreak of the World war, the national guard regiments were drafted into the federal army. The second infantry officially passed out of existence at Camp Doniphan, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, September 30, 1917, and the next day the units became three machine gun battalions and a trench mortar battery.

At the close of the war, Ozarkians who had been in actual combat were disinterested in peace time play at war. Nevertheless, enough interest was aroused to organize on July 7, 1920, the company which became the nucleus of the present 203rd coast artillery as it was named April 19, 1924. It was first known as the second artillery (anti-aircraft) and among the southwestern towns in the Ozarks it drew a strong response from those men who had suffered under aircraft fire in the first World war. The hound dog was chosen as the

regimental insignia and Colonel William A. Raupp, who had commanded the old second infantry, was chosen commander.

After the first year spent in monotonous drill, the regiment made annual treks to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Fort Barrancas, Florida, Camp Clark, Nevada, Missouri, or elsewhere for gunnery practice. During this period, the regiment was given consistently fine ratings in marksmanship. From 1932 to 1935 gunnery practice was discontinued because of lack of finances. However, local service of the regiment included mobilization during the railroad strike in 1922 and restoring order in Greene county in 1932 when criminals in a gun battle near Springfield killed six city and county officers. In April 1934, the regiment was called out to patrol the Mindenmines area in Barton county during a coal strike controversy.

In September 1940, the 203rd was recalled to the federal army to participate in actual service for which it had so carefully prepared. On the way to Camp Hulen, Texas, for training, the regiment was adopted by a hound dog in Oklahoma. The opportunity offered by such a coincidence was seized upon. Thereafter, on parades the "houn' dawg" with the chevrons of a sergeant tried to keep pace with his outfit.

After summer war maneuvers in Louisiana from August to October 1941, the 203rd left in December for Los Angeles to guard the California aircraft factories. Since June 1942 the regiment has served overseas.

To state just where or how the regiment is now serving is, of course, military information. But the "houn' dawg," known throughout the world for its skill in ferreting out its elusive enemy, need not fear that the regiment which bears its name will do less.

#### MISOURI, THE NAME

When French explorers traveled the new and amazing country of the Mississippi valley, they recorded a name for the great river that crosses the present state of Missouri, a river that more than a century later gave its name to the land now comprising the State itself.

Yet oddly enough the name that Missouri bears today, gained largely through the location of a few Indian villages on

the river in Central Missouri and the notations and maps of a French priest, has for over two centuries been associated with the meaning of another word. The most powerful and distinctive tribe of Indians in the region, the Osages, gave their name only to a tributary of the great river, and in the future to a county. The smaller tribe of the Missouris, however, had their name perpetuated in a great river and state.

Father Marquette made his famous voyage down the Mississippi in the year 1673 and in his report of it became the first to record a name for what we know today as the mighty Missouri river. During that trip he wrote: "We descend following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoui, which empties into the Mississipi, coming from the northwest." He failed to attach a meaning to the name "Pekitanoui," but John G. Shea, who edited his narrative, added the footnote that "Pekitanoui" meant "muddy water."

Marquette made a map of the Mississippi country and on it located the river called Pekitanoui, flowing into and almost parallel with the Mississippi but traced only a short distance on the map. He also located an Indian village, north and west and beyond the Pekitanoui in what probably would be central or northwest Missouri today, and designated the village "8eMess8rit." Had he extended the river further in the direction it takes today, the village probably would have been on that river.

The figure 8 in French, it has been explained, refers sometimes to the syllable "ou" or a variation of it. A map published in 1681 as Marquette's original map calls the village "Ou-Missouri," indicating the present version was well on its way. The village has definitely been identified as a village of the Missouri Indians.

Other explorers came to the area around the village "Ou-Missouri" and wrote about it and about the river. La Salle, evidently writing in 1682, refers to the river of the "Missourites." Joutel, in 1687, wrote that he, with the remaining members of La Salle's ill-fated expedition, passed "the Mouth of a River call'd *Missouris*, whose water is always thick," on their journey up the Mississippi. He made no attempt to explain the name, but contented himself with saying

what it was "call'd." His "thick" water may perhaps mean "muddy" water, mentioned by other explorers. Father Douay in the same party called it the "famous river of the Masmourites or Osages" and went on to distinguish it from the present Osage river. Penicaut, who accompanied the French explorer LeSueur, wrote that they passed the mouth of the "Missouri" river in July 1700.

In 1712 Father Marest, a French priest from Kaskaskia, wrote a letter in which he said "Seven leagues below the mouth of the Illinois river is found a large river called the Missouri—or more commonly, Pekitanoui, that is to say, muddy water,—which empties into the Mississippi on the West side; it is extremely rapid, and it discolors the beautiful water of the Mississippi, which flows from this point to the Sea."

To this priest usually goes the credit for firmly fixing the name "Missouri" to the great river, although the name "Missouri" had been used twelve years before. A map by the famous French mapmakers, the Delisle family, in 1703 had even portrayed a river called "les Missouris."

After Marest's time the name Pekitanoui ceased to be generally used, if, indeed, it had ever been. Another Delisle map in 1718 portrayed the river called "les Missouri au R. de Pekitanoui," however.

When the settlers came later and when the land became first a territory and then a state, it took the name of the river, Missouri, not Pekitanoui, but the name Missouri later came to have the meaning of the word Pekitanoui, not Missouri.

"Muddy water" so aptly described the Missouri river that succeeding generations apparently attached that meaning to the word Missouri. It is interesting to observe, however, that considering the wide prevalence of the definition of the word Missouri as meaning "muddy water," we have so far failed to find that definition listed before 1845, when Baldwin's *A Universal Pronouncing Gazetteer* listed Missouri as "A large r. of N. America . . . The waters of this river are remarkably turbid, from which circumstance, it is said, the name, signifying 'mud river,' is derived."

Some years later, in 1861, the *New American Cyclopedia* appeared, including among its items a description of "Missouri

(i. e. Mud river)," while editions of Chambers' *Encyclopedia* of 1864 and later dates give the meaning of Missouri as "muddy water."

After about the middle of the nineteenth century it came to be almost a tradition that Missouri meant muddy water. Even the more recent dictionaries and encyclopedias refer to the Missouri river as the "Big Muddy." Not until the turn of the twentieth century did the theory come in for strong criticism.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* first traced the development and meaning of Indian syllables in the word Missouri to show that the name meant "wooden canoe people" or "people who use wooden canoes." Indians in the Lake Michigan region had applied it to the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi and along the shores of the Missouri. The lake Indians traveled in birch bark canoes, while the turbulent waters of the Missouri necessitated canoes made of hollowed logs. William F. Switzler also adopted this theory of the meaning of the word Missouri and published an article about it in the Boonville *Democrat* on October 22, 1897.

In 1923 the State Historical Society of Missouri sent a copy of the *Democrat* article to Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, then chief of the Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, and asked for his comments. He replied that the article was substantially correct save that Missouri more nearly meant "town of the large canoes" than "people of wooden canoes." An article from the Smithsonian institution in 1937 interpreted Missouri to mean "he of the big canoe," essentially the same thing.

The word Missouri belongs to the Illinois dialect of the Algonquin Indian language, which was probably spoken generally by the various Indian tribes between the Mississippi river and Delaware bay.

[This article is taken from: *Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements*, by Floyd C. Shoemaker (Chicago, Lewis Publishing company, 1943), Vol. I, pp. 1-3.]

## THE BLOODY SALINE OF THE SALT RIVER COUNTRY

"To go up Salt river" may now signify the path of humiliation that awaits a crestfallen politician but when Missouri was still a relatively unknown territory on the outskirts of the Spanish empire, to go up Salt river was to risk losing one's scalp. Yet men had to eat and to eat demanded salted meat. Moreover, a high profit on the sale of salt in the settlements rewarded the fearless, so exploring parties edged their way along the wilderness.

As early as 1687 a salt spring had been seen in Missouri when the French explorer, Henri Joutel, and his companions went about a "musket shot" from the mouth of Saline creek and saw a spring in the midst of rolling hills in Ste. Genevieve county. For the next century salt from other springs in the county preserved the deer and made bread palatable for the French trapper and miner.

While salt was being made in Jefferson county by the Revolutionary period and St. Louis county was offering a partial self-sufficiency for the home market, the major portion of salt was still derived from the Ste. Genevieve works as late as 1804.

However, a multiplying population, resulting appetites, and a growing market for meat sent expeditions along the upper Mississippi and Missouri for new sources of salt. The country which became known later as Boone's Lick still carries with its name the glamour of a new Eden that greeted the settler who followed in the footsteps of the sons of the immortal Daniel. Its greatness has been preserved by historians while more important salt springs such as those around Ste. Genevieve and the Salt river country have been ignored or touched upon lightly. Perhaps it was the atmosphere of a flowering wilderness which the name "Boone" carried or the publicity given the territory by the local newspaper.

The Salt river country also offers all the thrills of Indian raids and the challenges to the wilderness of early speculators that one expects from frontier life. Fertile rolling prairie soils and deep black river bottoms that promised wealth as well as salt enticed both ambitious heads of families and individual speculators.

By 1792 the Salt river country was being explored by a French trapper, Mathurin Bouvet of St. Louis. Having heard from a roving trapper or Indian of a salt spring about 16 leagues up the Auahaha river, as the Indians called the Salt river, he led an expedition up the Mississippi in a pirogue and brought along a kettle or two to try the water. He established himself at a saline about seven miles northwest of present New London in Ralls county. When his tests proved positive he set off for St. Louis to bring back men and materiel to begin work in earnest.

Returning to the spring soon after, he saw his establishment laying in ruins. The Sac Indians had swooped down in his absence, stolen his tools and kettles and fled with his three horses. This was only the first of a long series of Indian warnings and vandalisms.

Nothing daunted, Bouvet began again. In the clearing a salt furnace, a warehouse, dwelling house, and other buildings soon arose. Late in the fall he sent his three men to secure provisions in St. Louis and sent with them a few bushels of salt. They, however, fell ill and did not return with supplies. After wintering there alone, Bouvet cached his tools and followed them. And again, the Salt river savages destroyed his works in his absence—a loss of about \$1200.

This setback was discouraging and for two years he did nothing. But in the spring of 1795 when salt continued to be scarce he took heart and petitioned the governor for 20 arpens square of land containing his saline. Such a subsidy would permit him to secure the necessary timber for his works and to build roads from the saline to the Salt and Mississippi rivers. Because of transportation difficulties down the Salt, he also needed a port on the Mississippi. After exploring the river bluffs he chose a point near the mouth of Bay de Charles and requested a second grant of 84 arpens in length along the Mississippi. With this grant he set to work again.

He named his salt works the "Bastion" and rebuilt the salt factory and dwelling house on the much abused site. The warehouse, however, was erected in what is now Marion county on the outlet of Bay de Charles about three miles north of Hannibal. Probably the precious article was transported

to the warehouse by packhorse and to St. Louis by boat. That year he sank a deep salt well, erected a large furnace and built a road between his well and warehouse, about three leagues apart. Unknowing that the trace had been cut out by a Frenchman, later settlers supposed this packhorse trail to have been an Indian path and gave it the name of the "Indian road."

Such an expansion made necessary the increase of employees which formed the first white settlement in Marion county near Bay de Charles. Although their exact number remains unknown, it was important enough for a Catholic priest to "attend to some christenings" there in 1798.

For about five years Bouvet prospered until he ran into strong competition with other salt works in the territory. Down came the price of salt and his profits. Moreover, marauding Indians prowled uncomfortably close, frightening his workers until most of them returned to St. Louis. Passing hunters and trappers brought rumors of unrest in the North. The temporarily submerged hatred of the Sacs finally burst forth in the spring of 1800. A band pounced on the exposed Bay de Charles settlement, burned Bouvet in his house, and plundered the community. Not content, they went on to destroy the salt works at the Bastion and carry off part of his tools. The partially consumed body was later identified and the vicinity of his lick came to be known thereafter as La Saline Ensanglantée or the Bloody Saline.

Undaunted by this tragedy, both Bouvet's lick and the warehouse area were purchased in November 1800, by Charles Gratiot of St. Louis. Fired with dreams of endless pastures and available salt he petitioned the evergenerous Delassus<sup>in</sup> 1801 for an additional grant of land to establish a cattle farm near the lick and to continue salt production. It is doubtful that he even attempted to carry out this farming scheme, for he made a trip in that year to the site and cleaned the well but was soon driven away by the Indians.

For a few months the area of the scoured salt spring was deserted. But later in the winter of 1800-1801 Augustin Charles Frémon Delauriere, a native of France, and Louis Lebeaume set out for La Saline Ensanglantée with oxen and

kettles. They visited Bouvet's lick, noticed some deserted kettles and equipment for the well and then crossed the Salt river to establish a salt lick of their own. This was in the northwest corner of what is now Spencer township about four miles from Bouvet's lick, according to Mrs. Paul Davis of New London.

When Frémont appeared in March before the governor with samples of his labors, Delassus noted that the salt was "a great deal preferable to the other salt made in small quantity and of bad quality in other salines" and granted him 100 arpens square of land.

Again salt started moving down to the settlements from the extreme edge of the frontier along the Bloody Saline. Since the Indians remained a constant hostile threat, Frémont took along a small cannon for the defense of his family who moved with him.

Other problems also plagued him. He claimed that his mass production of salt brought the price down from \$6 to \$3 per bushel. A high Spanish tax limited his profits still more and the difficulties of transportation intensified his irritations. When several loads of salt were lost in the Salt and Mississippi rivers, his loss was irrevocable. Finally his great scheme reduced him to poverty.

Frémont returned to the unfortunate saline later as a deputy surveyor and attempted to survey in the vicinity. With five armed men he faced the hostile Indians for the last time, but to no avail. Before he completed his mission he was forced to retreat twice and eventually abandoned the area. The Bloody Saline was again left to its original inhabitants for a time.

After the war of 1812 pioneers began trudging up the trails that finally became the Salt river road, winding in an easy arc from St. Louis and St. Charles to St. Peters, along the bluffs of the Mississippi through what became later Burkles, Wellsburgh, Flint Hill to Troy, thence by Alexandria, Auburn, Bowling Green, and New London to Palmyra. Branches connected Florida with Bowling Green and New London.

In September 1817, a party of five men on a prospecting tour from Kentucky came up the Missouri and Grand rivers

and then struck east toward the Mississippi since claims were already staked out on many of the best Boone's Lick locations. Coming down what is now the North river, they stopped to explore the country somewhat south of the present Palmyra.

In their wanderings they came to a settler's cabin near Freemore's lick, as the name of Frémont's former claim had been Anglicized by the broader American tongue. Claiming that his was the first cabin north of Salt river, the settler advised them to go on to Bouvet's lick, the site of his old salt works. One of the party staked out a claim on this saline which became known later after various sales as Trabue's lick and eventually as Spalding Springs, a resort town of the last century.

Surveyors marched into the area in the next year and settlers began to push cautiously after them, all locating on or along Salt river. The frontier was retreating before the ax and plow, and salt was still influencing the lines of migration along the salt trails. The numerous springs of all kinds in the area gave rise to the belief that if a Salt river pioneer were faced with the choice of poor land with a spring or good land without, he would choose the poorer land.

Even later movements were influenced by the mineral springs in the Bloody Saline country when resort towns sprang up to lure not the hungry, at this time, but the ill and fashionable. Near the site of the old Indian raids at Bouvet's lick, stood a resort hotel, famed for its healing waters and its ballroom.

#### MISSOURI MINIATURES

##### KATE CHOPIN

A local color writer of the late nineteenth century, Kate Chopin, portrayed the lives of the French Creoles in remote Louisiana bayous. Of French and Irish descent, Kate O'Flaherty was born in St. Louis, February 8, 1851. She graduated from Sacred Heart convent in 1868, after which she furthered her education by extensive reading.

In June 1870 she married Oscar Chopin and settled in New Orleans for ten years. Then her husband decided to

manage two plantations on the Red river near Cloutierville, Louisiana. There Mrs. Chopin made her observations of Creole life. Her husband died from swamp fever in 1882 and Kate Chopin brought her family of five sons and one daughter back to St. Louis where she spent the rest of her life.

One of Mrs. Chopin's first writings was a novel, *At Fault*, published in 1890. However, she is best known for the books *Bayou Folk*, (1894), and *A Night in Acadie*, (1897), which interpret Creole life, and for her second novel, *The Awakening*, (1899). The appearance of *The Awakening* two decades ahead of its time has been called "the tragedy of recent American literature." The criticism of provincial critics hurt her greatly and she never again attempted to write a long novel. Kate Chopin died August 22, 1904.

As a writer of stories for young people, Mrs. Chopin gained national attention. *Youth's Companion*, *Harper's Young People*, and *Wide Awake* took all of her children's stories. Very popular at the time of publication, her children's stories rank somewhat below present-day productions in choice of theme and imaginative qualities. Her short, mature pieces were printed in *Century*, *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Vogue*, and others.

[Sources for data on the life of Kate Chopin are: Rankin, D. S., *Kate Chopin*, (1932); *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, Vol. I, (1901); *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IV, (1930).]

JESSIE L. GAYNOR

When a little girl many years ago came home from school singing "Ain't It Pleasant With Your Sweetheart Riding in a Sleigh," her mother resolved to make public school music more appropriate for children. It is told that Jessie L. Gaynor began her career as one of Missouri's outstanding composers of children's music in this way.

Jessie L. Smith, born in St. Louis, February 17, 1863, lived as a child in Glasgow, Missouri, and received a B.S. degree in 1881 from Pritchett school institute there. She continued her study of music in St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston under A. G. Goodrich, Frederick Grant Gleason, and

Dr. Louis Maas. She taught in Iowa City, Iowa, where she married Thomas Wellington Gaynor. The Gaynors moved to Newton, Kansas, and later to Chicago where Mrs. Gaynor began collaborating with Mrs. Alice C. D. Riley.

During her lifetime Mrs. Gaynor composed more than six hundred songs, operettas, and games now used in many public schools and child training centers here and in foreign countries. She also originated a method of teaching music now widely used in primary grades. Her quaint and simple melodies for children are universally loved. "The Slumber Boat" has been sung in many languages.

Of her works, done with Mrs. Riley, the three volumes, *Song of the Child World*, are perhaps most widely known. Her two sacred songs, "Birth and Resurrection" and "The Star of Bethlehem," have won her recognition as a composer. Among Mrs. Gaynor's characteristic works are "The Discontented Duckling," "Sugar Dolly," and "Fireflies," and the recital songs, "And I," and "The Riddle." More mature art is revealed in "Album of Seven Songs," "Five Love Songs," and "The Album of Rose Songs."

In 1901 Mrs. Gaynor established the Gaynor studio in St. Joseph. She organized and was the first president of the St. Joseph fortnightly musical club. Mrs. Gaynor died February 20, 1921.

[Sources for data on the life of Jessie L. Gaynor are: *Who's Who in America*, Vol. XI, (1920); Rutt, C. L., *History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph*, (1904); *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 21, 1921.]

#### RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

*Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements.* By Floyd C. Shoemaker. (Chicago, Lewis publishing company, 1943. 5 vols., 3927 pp.)

Over in Indiana a few weeks ago, the writer of this critique was stunned—the pain still smarts—when, as a lover of Missouri and Missourians, he overheard a highly respected old gentleman break out into a diatribe against Missouri. It must have been the memory of those forebears of his who made the supreme sacrifice in our Civil war that put un-

wonted and fierce vehemence into his language. His present home-state, Minnesota, had recently passed a law protecting the civil rights of its Negro citizens. A similar bill had just been introduced at Jefferson City, and—as he put it—was there manhandled in a manner that would have added a new disgrace to sneak thieves by the so-called legislators of Missouri.

He went on, a man is sovereign in his own home, but by the laws of God and of nature and of the Constitution of the United States in public life all men are equal. Domestic rights may be monarchial or rather patriarchal but civil rights are democratic. Here all men are equal and whoever robs a citizen of his civil rights is uncivilized. That holds for Missouri, he concluded.

The score or more of retorts that almost boiling blood carried through this critic's brain did not seem to refute the element of truth that stood out so obviously in the stinging invective. Prudence demanded concealment of our hurt.

Happily on returning home, upon the desk lay a stack of splendid tomes of Missouri history: *Missouri and Missourians*. At the sight of the books and particularly on noting the author's name there came to mind the old adage, axiomatic to scholars, that the degree of a people's civilization is measured by the care with which they conserve their history; the thermometer on which a state's civilization is recorded is its grateful remembrance of the fathers and mothers from whom it inherited its life, fortune, and honor. If this is true—and who will deny it—then Missouri has here a convincing demonstration that on the score of civilization she may not be successfully challenged by any American state.

Is there a spot right now in all the world where the story of the life of the people is being cared for more assiduously than it is in Missouri? Here surely is some assuagement of the pain of a Missourian when he is made to realize that he has not yet attained to the perfection of Christian or even of national ideals.

Missourians are eminently a "People of Achievement." The story of those achievements from the very first arrival of the pioneers has been recounted to us by tireless and un-

remitting labor, first of individuals, then by historically-minded groups, various of which united themselves into historical societies. Over all this highly commendable array of scholarly workers in the labor of conservation and reclamation of our historic past, it can be said, however, without derogation of the merit of his predecessors, that the author of this work stands eminent.

The reader who is cognizant of the fine work that has been done in the portrayal of the romance of the Indian, of the Spanish and French domination of this favored section of America and who has seen the vivid realistic accounts of the invasions of home-seekers from the eastern states may for a moment think it bold to state that this author's production has surpassed all the rest.

Those and other numerous and capable students of Missouri history have brought Missouri historiography on a par in every respect with that of the foremost states. In one respect the author of *Missouri and Missourians* has placed Missouri in advance of them all. For twenty-eight years he has been editor of the *Missouri Historical Review* and he has found time not merely to attend to editorial exigencies but simultaneously he has given to the public a goodly number of highly creditable volumes. This, in addition to his work in the collection and preservation of Missouriana, is largely responsible for the enthusiasm for state history that has been kept eager and so vigorous that it flourishes in every section of Missouri.

But let us look at these new volumes. Five of them: the first two are the history of the State; the last three volumes of this set are exclusively biographical and were compiled by the publisher's special staff of writers.

The first two volumes, which are the ones considered here, contain a million and a quarter words. When it is borne in mind that every one of these words is history the number becomes staggering. A novelist, an orator, or an artist in any other department of literature may scatter his words as fancy dictates, freely as the winds scatter the leaves of autumn, but the historian may not indulge imagination. Truth leads him along an extremely narrow path from which he may not

swerve to right or left. Let him, for instance, carelessly write that Columbus discovered America in 1491 instead of 1492. Such a deviation from fact as that of this small figure or a change of one letter in this brief sentence would bring discredit on an entire work. What exquisite care was required then to put down millions of words that will stand the scrutiny of the most exacting eyes of critical readers who, through the years, are to resort to these volumes as to a tribunal of justice and truth! The reputation of the author, won by his earlier publications, assures us that this, his most ambitious production, will stand every test.

Unfortunately, it must be confessed, the external appearance of the huge tomes, with their brown-red mottled binding may not seem attractive to every aesthetic taste. Yet whatever opinion one may entertain in regard to color and size, it cannot be questioned that the publishing company, on the whole, deserve commendation. The board covers are stout, and the binding is such that a book may be thrown open at any page without danger of loosening the pages. The paper and the print are so near perfect and harmonize so well that it may almost be said literally that he who runs may read these books. More attention was evidently given to producing volumes to be read rather than merely to be seen. Herein a distinct charm has been added to the books.

Opening the first volume, after the very ample index which covers the entire five books, we encounter a chapter of "Missouriana" which at once makes clear the choice of the sub-title "A Land of Contrasts." One of the sobriquets of Missouri is "The Center State." The designation is true and false. False because while it is 1500 miles from Missouri to the Pacific ocean it is but 800 to the Atlantic. Yet it is true in view of the fact that there are just two states to our north and two also to the south of us; there are five states to the east and five to the west. The Missouri poem, officially recognized, takes cognizance of this and sings:

"Nor North, nor South, nor East, nor West,  
But part of all, of each the best . . . Missouri".

The contrasts are not limited to geography. In politics, for instance, between 1900 and 1936, five times the State voted for a Democrat for president and five times also for a Republican. Though perhaps these are among the most conspicuous of the contrasts they are far from being among the most significant. It is well known, for instance, that Missouri territory at one time reached up to the Canadian border but it is not so well known that one of Missouri's eleven state capitals was located in the city of Marshall, Harrison county, Texas, where the "Capitol" and the governor of Missouri's mansion are still standing.

As early as Chapter Two we are introduced to the Missourians, and from here onward through two thousand pages, volumes one and two, the narrative follows the chronological order of events as in all other histories of the state. Although it surpasses all earlier works in many features, the author has had no thought of superseding any of them as is attested by the lengthy but very carefully chosen bibliographies that follow all the chapters. Students of history will find these lists invaluable time-savers if their investigations touch on aught in which Missouri or her men of achievement were concerned.

As in no other general history of the state, the story is carried down almost to the present hour. There is an engraving showing thirty or more of the buildings at Fort Leonard Wood, and we read of the arrangements there for "air fields, an artillery range, infantry and tank training grounds, an engineer pontoon school, a drill and recreation area. . . hospitals, chapels, theaters, recreation centers, and post exchange stores." In the chapter which is entitled "New Deal Accomplishments in Missouri" the author conducts us through a scene of wild confusion with the accuracy and precision of statement of a trained guide in a fair grounds.

Although this and the following chapter on "Sports, Amusements—Entertainment" manifest the author's closeness to the life of the people and illustrate the broadening of this historian's outlook beyond economics and politics, they do not evidence with that impressiveness which his other writings evince the characteristic of his writings. This is his perfectly marvellous judicial fairness in his treatment of all

aspects of a subject and particularly of men of such a variety of opinions and idiosyncrasies as necessarily enter his story.

This is the chief excellence of this writer's work—the thorough understanding and consequently the kindness towards all parties. He is no diplomat who hides his mind beneath felicitous expression, blinding verbiage. Yes and no are said with a clarity that cannot be misinterpreted yet always with a justice, moderated by mercy, such that even the most sensitive, if guided by reason, cannot fail to applaud. *Contributed by Father Laurence J. Kenny, S.J.,<sup>1</sup> professor of American History at St. Louis university, St. Louis, Missouri.*

#### MISSOURI SCRAPBOOK

You may forget much of your history, but you will always remember the wit of some man. Didn't Huck Finn say: "Now, one of the worst things about civilization is that anybody that gits a letter with trouble in it comes and tells you all about it and makes you feel bad, and the newspapers fetches you the troubles of everybody all over the world, and keeps you downhearted and dismal 'most all the time.'" But here are some scraps from a few editors who quipped for the amusement of their neighbors.

#### *Say Mizzoura*

From the Marshall Democrat-News. In this country it is generally supposed that nobody says *Miss-sou-ry* but puritans and soft heads. The correct pronunciation is "*Mizzoura*." The people who affect "*Miss-sou-ry*" are of the same tribe that say "crick" when they mean "creek", "rud" for "road", "noo" for "new", etc.—*Columbia Herald*, February 9, 1894.

<sup>1</sup>FATHER LAURENCE J. KENNY, S.J., a native of Ohio, was admitted to the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit Order) at Florissant, Missouri, in 1883. Since the completion of his studies Father Kenny has been active in the educational field. Since 1901 he has been connected with the teaching staff of St. Louis university except for the years from 1931 to 1937 when he was at the University of Detroit. Father Kenny is well-known for his historical investigations of early events in Missouri and his contributions to various periodicals in this country and abroad.

*First Sign of Spring?*

Base Ball.—The young men of Boonville have formed a base ball club; and we now expect to have local items in abundance. Broken fingers, sprained wrists, crippled legs will be all the go. Who will be the first victim? We are absolutely spoiling for a first class item.—*Boonville Weekly Eagle*, May 23, 1868.

*Delayed Action?*

Robert McGee, of Chillicothe, who has lived for twenty-five years after being scalped by Indians, is said to be dying at last from the wound.—*Lexington Intelligencer*, September 13, 1890.

*Three cents per square inch!*

There is a rumor afloat on the streets that the Barbers in town contemplate making an advance in their price of shaving the Greeleyites owing to the elongated condition of their faces since hearing the news from the elections. We protest against all such acts of cruelty!—*Boonville Weekly Eagle*, October 11, 1872.

*Catch that fifth voter!*

Log Cabins seem to be all the go now-a-days. We have been told that a leader of the Van Burenites in this place has talked of building one for his dog.—*Palmyra Whig*, May 2, 1840.

*Our Cook Joined the WACs—*

Twenty dollars reward for the apprehension of my wench Sylvia, and lodging her in jail. W. Tharp.—St. Louis, *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, January 12, 1820.

*Morgenthau please copy—*

Why can't we govern a State without that distasteful appendage of taxation? We know numbers of men, and of banks, too, who are making money out of nothing.—Jefferson City, *Missouri State Times*, April 1, 1865.

*Newspaper Editors: Hear! Hear!*

A paper mill is soon to be in full operation in California, Mo., the first ever started in the State. Experienced paper makers from England have been employed to work it.—*Macon Argus*, November 20, 1867.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Just a little late; the first paper mill in the State was built in 1834 in Boone county, but was soon after discontinued.

**HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS****MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP**

During the three months from August through October 1943, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

**FIVE NEW MEMBERS**

Reuther, J. L., St. Louis

**FOUR NEW MEMBERS**

Wood, Vesta, Springfield

**THREE NEW MEMBERS**

Harty, H. L., Sikeston  
Jackson, N. J., Independence  
Smith, Frederick M., Independence

**TWO NEW MEMBERS**

McCown, Pearle, Columbia  
Wall, Edward E., St. Louis

**ONE NEW MEMBER**

|                                     |                                      |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Atwood, George B., St. Louis        | Geyer, H. G., Neosho                 |
| Barrett, Jesse W., St. Louis        | Goodwin, Cliff B., Marshall          |
| Bays, Robert, Caledonia             | Heidbrink, William, Overland         |
| Berninghaus, O. E., Taos, N. Mexico | Hirsch, Rudolph, Kansas City         |
| Byland, Mrs. S. J., Wellsville      | Kiefner, Mrs. Charles E., Perryville |
| Carroll, Mrs. J. C., Clarksville    | Marrow, J. M., Seattle, Wash.        |
| Comfort, F. H., Arcadia             | Motely, Mrs. R. L., Bowling Green    |
| Culmer, Frederic A., Fayette        | Norton, Mrs. V. R., New London       |
| Daniel, Mrs. Ida M., Centerville    | Strong, Charles M., Macon            |
| Davis, Mary Harris, New London      | Thompson, Henry, Bonne Terre         |
| Duck, Mrs. Joe, Springfield         | Wright, Robert M., Rolla             |

## NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

August-October 1943

One hundred and thirty applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from August to October 1943, inclusive. The total of annual membership as of October 31, 1943, is 3604.

The new members are:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Anthony, W. A., Sikeston                       | Denning, L. S., Clayton                 |
| Armstrong, W. A., Shamrock                     | Doran, W. J., St. Louis                 |
| Ashbrook, Eugene D., Carrollton                | Edison, Irving, St. Louis               |
| Avery, O. H., Pasadena, Calif.                 | Eidson, R. J., Ironton                  |
| Baldwin, L. W., St. Louis                      | Eiserman, Bethel W., Branson            |
| Barada, A. S., Lee's Summit                    | Evans, Robert L., Boonville             |
| Bartlett, Walter, Bethany                      | Funk, George B., St. Louis              |
| Barton, Miss Lulu E., Wood River,<br>Ill.      | Goode, George Robert, St. Louis         |
| Beimdiek, George S., Carthage                  | Gray, Fred J., Irwin                    |
| Bell, T. A., St. Louis                         | Hanson, Vernon, Hinsdale, Ill.          |
| Bernard, W. B., Caruthersville                 | Harra, Christian V., Buckner            |
| Binkley, Claude, Branson                       | Hawkins, C. R., Brumley                 |
| Bishop, John G., Nyack, N. Y.                  | Henschke, John J., St. Louis            |
| Blaine, H. E., Joplin                          | Hetlage, Mrs. George C., Clayton        |
| Bowman, L. R., Sikeston                        | Hodge, Mr. & Mrs. W. M., LaPlata        |
| Bragg, John M., Ava                            | Hoiberg, Otto G., Fayette               |
| Braun, Marquard F., St. Louis                  | Hoover, A. E., Chillicothe              |
| Brown, Mrs. Minnie M. P., Appleton<br>ton City | Hughes, A. Evan, Clayton                |
| Burford, C. E., St. Louis                      | Independence Chamber of Com-<br>merce   |
| Burke, Richard W., St. Louis                   | James, S. W., Jr., Jefferson City       |
| Bush, Henry, St. Louis                         | Johnson, Wm. E., Kirkwood               |
| Carlton, W. J., Brookfield                     | Johnston, Russell, Washington, D.C.     |
| Carpenter, Alvin C., St. Louis                 | Jones, Alfred, Ironton                  |
| Carr, Miss Nanon L., Kansas City               | Jurgensmeyer, Alvin H., Warrenton       |
| Carstarphen, W. E., New London                 | Kelley, O. Fletcher, Boonville          |
| Castle, Mrs. Vera Leigh, Marshall              | Kiefer, C. H., Houston, Texas           |
| Corrigan, W. S., Sikeston                      | Kramer, Ida F., Columbia                |
| Crain, Joe C., Ozark                           | Krebs, Roland, Webster Groves           |
| Davidson, Mrs. Ernest, North Kan-<br>sas City  | Lakebrink, Wm. H., Union                |
| Davis, Arthur W., Barnett                      | Lehman, Mrs. W. M., Davenport,<br>Iowa. |
| Davis, C. E., Neosho                           | Lemmel, Violet, Hope                    |
| Davis, Mrs. J. W., Independence                | Leslie, Ben, Macon                      |
| Dawson, Cornelia, Columbia                     | Letsinger, Hazel G., Mansfield          |
|  | Luff, Elvin, Independence               |

- Lumb, Mrs. George, Huntsville  
McComb, J. A., Lebanon  
McCowan, Frank M., Nyack, N. Y.  
McCowan, Ralph E., Sedalia  
McNatt, Eugene, Aurora  
McPhee, Mrs. M. F., Vinita Park  
McVay, James R., Kansas City  
Maloney, Mike, Washington, D. C.  
Mandeville, Victor J., Brentwood  
Marquard, E. Alfred, Clayton  
May, James G., Columbus, Ohio  
Mohler, John, Webster Groves  
Morgan, Charles, Appleton City  
Morris, L. I., Jefferson City  
Murphy, Mrs. Margaret, Dallas,  
Texas  
Myers, G. T., Macks Creek  
Neill, Robert, St. Louis  
Neunschwander, Harry, Garden  
City  
Nichols, W. E., Independence  
Nipper, Gary B., Caledonia  
Owensville High School  
Paden, Thomas E., Kansas City  
Papin, Bernard, Chaffee  
Parkins, Walter, Kansas City  
Pickett, Russell N., Trenton  
Prott, William, St. Louis  
Pumphrey, F. M., St. Joseph  
Pursell, Frances, St. Louis  
Raetheli, Mildred, Hermann  
Ralston, Allen C., Columbia  
Rankin, W. N., Hayti  
Ross, Chas. G., Caruthersville  
Rutherford, Mrs. Wm., Shelbyville,  
St. Mark's High School Library, St.  
Louis  
Schmidt, G. R., St. Louis  
Schwarz, Paul, St. Louis  
Schweitzer, Albert L., St. Louis  
Shannondale Community House Li-  
brary, Gladden  
Smith, Shields R., Kirkwood  
Smith, W. E., Caruthersville  
Steinhauser, John M., Independence  
Stewart, Dan R., Rolla  
Strothman, Herman, Berger  
Sullivan, Thomas M., St. Louis  
Taylor, Hosea J., Huntsville  
Thompson, Vern E., Joplin  
Thurston, C. E., Columbia  
Trail, Mrs. J. L., Elsberry  
University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore-  
gon  
Van Cleave, Brenton, St. Louis  
Waddle, Elbridge, Lancaster  
Wagner, E. C. J., Jefferson City  
Walker, J. Ellis, Rolla  
Waltner, Marion D., Kansas City  
Weld, William G., St. Louis County  
West Alton School, District No. 2  
Willson, John M., Rolla  
Winger, Maurice H., Kansas City  
Woermann, F. C., St. Louis  
Wolfe, Mrs. Mildred, Savannah  
Wright, John D., St. Louis  
Wurdack, Wm., Jr., University City  
Young, Newton E., LaPlata

**DOWNTHEOREGONTRAIL**

The centennial anniversary of the opening of the Oregon trail in 1843 at Independence was held on August 12. A pageant depicting a covered wagon trek and an Indian attack preceded the addresses of Senator Harry S. Truman and Francis Lambert, member of the Old Oregon trails centennial commission. In the afternoon the site for a memorial marker on the courthouse lawn was dedicated. Speakers included Mr. Lambert, Floyd C. Shoemaker, Major General E. M.

Stayton, John F. Thice, Senator Truman, and Judge Walter L. Yost. The marker, now being carved, is to be a boulder type monolith of light gray granite. In a large panel on the front will be a prairie schooner with two ox teams, a pioneer driver and his family, and a mounted scout back of the schooner. Philip H. Parrish, chairman of the Old Oregon trail centennial commission, prepared a pamphlet history of the great migration of 1843 which was published by the state of Oregon.

#### WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

To maintain public interest in Missouri history, the Society publishes weekly a series of feature articles in the newspapers throughout the State. Ballads of our "Bad Men," the frontier store, the Mormon hegira, and pleas for more mail from Civil war soldiers enliven our past.

Those released during October, November, and December include the following:

*October:* "Deeds of Missouri's 'Bad Men' Live Today in Tuneful Doggerel," "Soldiers Asked for More Mail from Home—in 1862," "Frontier Fireplaces Posed Heating Problems to Pioneers," "In the Day of the Peddler."

*November:* "Dry Goods and 'Wet' Groceries Lured Frontier Customers," "Invention, Clever Daughter of Necessity, Keeps Women Well Dressed in War Time," "From Wampum to Greenbacks Among Missouri Currencies," "The Verdict of the People," "In 1820—Exposed for Sale."

*December:* "Old Folksongs Brought Tears to Eyes of Missouri Settlers," "Frontier Signpainter Turns Artist and Paints Boone—Grand Old Man of Missouri," "Men Had 'A Way With Them' in Early Missouri Theatricals!" "Missouri's March of Sorrows."

#### ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Historical association of greater St. Louis met November 12 in Brown hall of Washington university. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, gave an address on outstanding Missourians.

They included Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Eugene Field, Daniel Boone, Francis P. Blair, Jr., James B. Eads, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Torrey Harris.

The Howard-Cooper county historical society met in Boonville on August 10. The name of the society was changed to the Boone's Lick historical society. Local points of interest were pointed out, such as the site of Old Franklin, Cooper's Fort, river crossing of the Santa Fe trail, Boone salt springs, Hardiman's gardens, and the grave of Governor William H. Ashley. On November 12, the society met at the New Franklin high school. Colonel A. M. Hitch gave an address on "Early Academies in the Boone's Lick Territory."

The Laclede county historical society held its October meeting on October 22, in Lebanon. Judge Homer Davenport gave an address on Laclede county history. The following officers were elected for the coming year: J. H. Easley, president; Dr. S. A. Casey, vice-president; Mrs. L. C. Mayfield, secretary; Mrs. C. B. Burely, treasurer; and Mrs. Charlotte Bass, curator.

#### ACQUISITIONS

The Society has received a gift of thirty-three photographs of Mississippi river steamboats from the Boatman's National bank in St. Louis. Pictures of such fine packets as the *Spread Eagle* or the *Annie P. Silver* are now preserved for the antiquarian.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Paul R. Davis of New London the Society has acquired a file of the *Ralls County Times* from February 18, 1898 to February 7, 1908.

Mrs. Nell Downing Norton of New London donated manuscript copies of her historical and genealogical data concerning the Minor and Downing families.

Through the courtesy of Paul M. Culver of North Kansas City, the Society has acquired two notebooks containing devotional articles written by his great-grandfather, a real estate ledger of the 1870s, and an account book covering the period 1850-1859 of a store in Plattsburg, Missouri.

The Society has received from the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* a file of the drawings by Perry Vogt of thirty-two St. Louis churches which have appeared in the rotogravure sections of the *Globe-Democrat* during the past year.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Minnie M. B. Brown of Appleton City, much material on the cowboy artist, Charles M. Russell, who was born in Missouri, has been presented to the Society. The material was collected by her sister, the late Miss Joyce J. Browning of Jefferson City, who was a member of the State Historical Society. It includes several of his books and twelve reproductions of his paintings.

#### ANNIVERSARIES

Although no celebration was held, a booklet was published upon the sesquicentennial anniversary of the founding of Cape Girardeau in 1793. In that year, Don Louis Lorimier, Spanish governor of Louisiana, arrived in the area.

Lindenwood college commemorated the 117th anniversary of its founding with special programs on the campus on Founders' day, October 22. Dr. Kate L. Gregg, professor of English at the college and president of the Historical association of greater St. Louis, delivered the annual Founders' day address. According to the tradition of past years, the graves of Lindenwood's founders, Major George Sibley and his wife, Mary Easton Sibley, were decorated.

The First Baptist church of Boonville celebrated the centennial anniversary of its founding during the week of October 17-24. Numerous Baptist leaders of the State gave addresses. A history was published in pamphlet form to summarize the achievements of the church.

The Immaculate Conception Catholic church of Loose Creek, Osage county, observed the centennial anniversary of the founding of the parish with a pontifical high mass on September 28. The present church property was purchased in 1843, although mass had been celebrated earlier. The first log church was erected in 1845 and the present church building in 1870.

The centennial celebration of Rocheport Lodge No. 67, A. F. and A. M., of the Boone county Masonic association was held in Rocheport on October 20.

Seventy-five members and guests of the Lafayette county Old Men's club attended the seventy-fifth annual dinner and convention, held in Higginsville, October 9. The club was organized near Lexington in 1868 to form an association with members of 70 years or more.

#### MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Plans are being discussed by Catholic clergymen and laymen to erect a shrine to Blessed Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne, founder of the Society of the Sacred Heart in America. The grave of Mother Duchesne, marked by a small shrine, is on the grounds of the original Sacred Heart academy at St. Charles. A larger memorial, probably including a chapel, is being urged since the beatification of Mother Duchesne is an indication that she may be canonized.

The young men's division of the St. Louis chamber of commerce is continuing its placing of historical markers on important sites in the city. Several have been placed during the last three months. The first shows a view of the south side of Market street, just west of Fourth street, as it was during the period from 1848 to 1866, and includes a 95-year-old survivor of the coffee houses of old St. Louis. The restaurant which the building now houses has been doing business longer than any other enterprise still surviving in St. Louis. Nearby was the Odeon, an auditorium where Jenny Lind appeared in 1851, and Professor Edward Wyman's natural

history museum. Another marker is on the site of the early college building of Washington university where the Monogram building now stands. A third shows how St. Louis university and St. Francis Xavier's church looked in 1878. Three markers commemorating early St. Louisans were placed near the southwest corner of Broadway and Elm street designating the homes of Dr. George Engelmann, scientist, Robert Campbell, fur trader, and Captain Henry Miller Shreve, an inventor and steamboat designer. The marker placed on the site of old Fort San Carlos, south Fourth street, completes the series indicating structures in early village defenses. The fort, a stone tower constructed in 1780, was the key position in the early breastworks which surrounded the village at that time. At Fort San Carlos St. Louisans repulsed a British-Indian attack on May 26, 1780.

#### NOTES

The Missouri Historical Society met in the Jefferson memorial in St. Louis, October 29, to present a plan for the rearrangement of the museum by James B. Musick. Dr. Alfred F. Hopkins gave an address on the subject.

Gaston F. DuBois, vice-president of the Monsanto chemical company of St. Louis, was awarded, November 15, the Perkin medal for his outstanding work in applied chemistry. The award was made by the American section of the Society of Chemical Industry. His research includes developing styrene, from which synthetic rubber is made, resinous adhesives for plywood, and the electrochemical separation of bismuth and vanadium pentoxide catalyst.

The St. Louis city art museum has installed a Howard county Missouri room to give an example of a domestic interior of the thirties. Most of the furnishings of the room were taken from the home of Nicholas Burckhardt, state representative in 1822, delegate to the constitutional convention in 1820, and state senator for ten years. The museum has also acquired a painting, "A Street in St. Louis," by Henry Lewis at Duesseldorf in 1863. Lewis is best known for his gigantic

painted panorama of scenes along the Mississippi river from its source to New Orleans.

The *Rolla Herald*, November 4, contained an article by Charles L. Woods on the Wilson family in Virginia and Missouri. One anecdote pertained to a slave case which established authority in regard to chattel property in Missouri; the other related the reconciliation of Senator Thomas Hart Benton and John Wilson and shows a little-known side of Benton.

An extremely interesting feature article by Paul I. Wellman on Arthur E. Stillwell appeared in the *Kansas City Star*, August 22. Stillwell's dream was of railways from Kansas City to the gulf of Mexico and the gulf of California and thus opening the Middle West to Central America and the Orient. After he lost control of a railroad from Kansas City to the gulf of Mexico, the Mexican revolution disrupted the building of the second. Federal government loans to the Mexican government through lend-lease arrangements are now constructing the unfinished links of the Orient railway in Mexico.

State archives in the office of the secretary of state are being deposited in a room on the first floor of the statehouse in Jefferson City. Records which have already been accumulated include in part the original bills and minutes of both houses of the legislature from 1911 to date, the original records of the 1922 constitutional convention, and a complete set of the Missouri appeal and supreme court reports.

For nearly fifty years an annual ten days' camp meeting has been held near Vichy, Maries county. Old time hymns, chicken dinners, evangelistic sermons, and "experience" meetings maintain the traditional characteristics of a camp meeting, familiar to Missouri for over 130 years.

Works by eighty-six Missouri artists, including twelve members of the armed forces, were on view during the third annual exhibition of Missouri artists which opened at the St. Louis city art museum on October 30. The \$200 Eliza Mc-

Millan purchase prize for an oil painting was awarded Martyl Schweig, formerly of St. Louis, for her canvas, "Colorado Freight Yards." The \$100 anonymous purchase prize for any medium was won by Burnett H. Shryock, Carbondale, Illinois, for his gouache, "Texas Junction No. 2," depicting Negro poverty in the South. The lithograph, "Ovren's Book Store," by Fred Shane of Columbia won the \$25 Henry V. Putzel purchase prize for graphic art. Hillis Arnold, Godfrey, Illinois, won the \$25 Junior League award for any medium with a piece of sculpture, "Newborn Colt." Arthur Krause received the \$15 Arthur Houston award for his painting, "Clowns and Cats," and Fred Geary, Kansas City, won the \$10 anonymous artists' award for graphic art for his wood engraving, "Chickens."

The third Friday of October has been designated "Missouri Writers' Day" by a bill passed by the last legislature. In celebration of this day the public schools of the State will make a study of the writings and lives of Missouri authors.

The division of the National park service of the department of the Interior, located at the Jefferson National Expansion memorial in St. Louis, has arranged tours to the various smaller city parks which have declined in importance as the movement of the city went westward. Other tours include visits to historic churches east of Jefferson avenue, the grounds of the Louisiana purchase exposition, and St. Louis homes of the period, 1870-1900.

Miss Julia E. Chipps of St. Joseph, a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, has completed a pamphlet history of St. Joseph before 1900. The pamphlet commemorates the centennial anniversary of the founding of St. Joseph and offers available and interesting data on the city, especially for native service men and for non-residents stationed there.

Through the courtesy of Richard Pilant formerly of St. Louis, the Society has received a copy of the joint hearing

before the committees on public land of the Senate and House of Representatives on the George Washington Carver national monument in Missouri.

The fifth frontier edition of *The Missourian*, of Boonville, was published in September. The issue contained a history of Cooper's Fort by Lane L. Harlan. This article was given as the address at the 1943 annual picnic of the Boone's Lick historical society.

#### HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*Country Cured.* By Homer Croy. (New York, Harper and Brothers publishers, 1943. 282 pp.) Come to Missouri and sit down by a fireplace with some stout hickory backlogs, and before the second hour you will know and laugh with the man across the hearth. Surely the author lived next door, for his autobiographical sidelights repeat your own boyhood; even the disappointments and humiliations have a familiar ring. He is as his title indicates permeated with the flavor and character of life in rural Missouri and from it draws his strength. He may say he does not know the meaning of life, but he certainly enjoys its richness. A varied kaleidoscopic view of his childhood and youth appear—the pride of his father in the land and its inevitable toll of labor, his setting off with a mouseholed telescope bag for the city, his first toothbrush, and barbershop bath. Here is social history with an anecdotal covering.

*Those Who Go Against the Current.* By Shirley Seifert. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott company, 1943. 612 pp.) Of all the tales of heroism in American literature, the most appealing has always been the trailblazer, the fur trader who challenged the wilderness alone or with a handful of followers. Miss Seifert's choice has been particularly apt since Manuel Lisa might well serve as the focal point for the three national cultures which composed Missouri at the turn of the nineteenth century as well as the merchant prince of the fur trade. Having sprung from a Spanish family in New Orleans, Lisa had already an exotic background before he attacked the

corruption of Spanish Louisiana, competed with the Chouteau fur monopolists, and strove for peace among the numerous antagonistic Indian tribes along the upper Missouri. He participated in setting off the Lewis and Clark expedition, struggled to maintain a stable frontier for the slender line of settlements, and by his marriage to a member of the New England Hempstead family, fulfills his role as a symbol of the development of the territory. The valley of the Missouri and Mississippi was becoming ready for statehood. Miss Seifert shows careful research in the primary sources of the period and a familiarity with the data extant concerning the life of Lisa. However, there are some errors—a few minor details which may be pardoned a novelist—and the race up the Missouri with the agent of Astor's fur company was considered more important in Lisa's own time than its treatment here.

*A History of Madison County, Missouri.* By Henry C. Thompson, II. (N. d.; n. pub. 98 pp.) This history covers the development of the county from the period of early lead mining to the 1870s. A brief description of early French explorers, a survey of territorial government, and the economic and social life of the pioneer are included. The primary interest, however, is the participation of the county in the Civil war.

*Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation. A Study of Social Selection in Rural Missouri.* By Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and Cecil L. Gregory. (The University of Missouri studies, 1943. 166 pp.) This study offers data on the correlation of ability, as exemplified by the scholastic record, and the student's migration and occupation. The investigation approached such questions as: selection of migrants from rural to urban communities based on ability, relationship of ability and distance of migration, sex differentials in migration, parental and filial occupations, and the correlation of formal education and choice of occupations. Although the authors approach the problem cautiously, the data presented offers thought-provoking conclusions.

*The Rural Health Facilities of Lewis County, Missouri.* By Ronald B. Almack. (Research Bulletin No. 365, Agricultural experiment station, University of Missouri, 1943. 42 pp.) Obtaining satisfactory medical service for the farm population remains one of the most serious problems of that group. This study is the first of several surveys undertaken to determine the availability of health agencies and the extent and conditions of their use. The data were obtained by field interviews in 1939 with 317 families, a hospital staff, and all the practitioners in the county.

*We Go This Way But Once.* By K. Quinn Lewis. (Philadelphia, Dorrance and company, 1943. 335 pp.) The novel is laid in the hill country of Wappapello lake and the Big Springs country of the Ozarks and the neighboring lowland section of the bootheel. The author presents some publicity advertising for a few of the beauty spots of the State but skirts the sharecropper issue and presents a flood and a lynching, unfortunately without the drama and human action they inevitably bring.

*Family Health Practices in Dallas County, Missouri.* By Iola Meier and C. E. Lively. (Research Bulletin No. 369, Agricultural experiment station, University of Missouri, 1943. 32 pp.) This bulletin reports some of the results obtained from a field study of the problems of adequate medical care in Dallas county. In the county which is typical of those on the outer margin of the Ozark highland in the State, 258 open-country families, representing the major socio-economic areas, were interviewed.

*Missouri, The State and Its Government.* By Samuel A. Johnson. (New York, Oxford Book company, 1943. 124 pp.) To aid the high school student in preparing for active citizenship it is necessary to be familiar with the procedure of state as well as federal government. This brief text summarizes the most significant facts for classes both in history and politics.

*Problems in Civics for the State of Missouri.* By Claude A. Phillips. (New York, The Macmillan company, 1942. 81 pp.) This is an introduction to the study of civic problems for the high school student. Besides the text, questions and references for additional study are included.

*Fifty Years at the American Bar, A Warrior Lawyer. The Colorful and Exciting Career of Frank M. Lowe, Country Editor, Criminal Lawyer, World Traveler, Christian Teacher.* Based upon his unfinished memoirs compiled by his son, Frank M. Lowe, Jr. (New York, Fleming H. Revell company, 1942. 215 pp.) Frankly stated in the preface, this biography is devoted to hero worship of the late Frank Lowe, a well-known lawyer who came to Kansas City before the "Gay Nineties" and remained to watch the city grow. The body of the book consists of anecdotes of his courtroom days and his travels and various philosophic musings.

*A Family Record of the Haginses and Higginses. Genealogy and History of Some of the Descendants of Linville Higgins and Juda Kirby of Alleghany County, North Carolina.* Collected and compiled by Fred J. and Gertrude H. Gray. (Lamar, Missouri, *The Lamar Leader*, 1943. 40 pp.) This genealogical material was issued at the fifteenth annual reunion of the descendants of the families at Camp Park, Lamar, September 5.

#### OBITUARIES

EUGENE K. DANIELS: Born in Centerville, Mo., Feb. 10, 1907; died at Ironton, Mo., Sept. 18, 1943. Following graduation from high school, he began working on the *Ellington Press*, owned by his family. In 1935 he was appointed postmaster, but moved to Ironton in 1938 to publish the *Ozark Record*. He was elected state representative in 1942.

DELBERT J. HAFF: Born in Michigan, Feb. 19, 1859; died in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 10, 1943. After graduating from the University of Michigan law school, he came to Kansas City in 1883 to practice. A railroad lawyer, he also represented

financial interests in Mexico. Chairman of the municipal improvement association in 1891, he was a park board counselor and chairman for the improvement of Kansas City boulevards and drafted the laws establishing the boulevard system.

HENRY WINSTON HARPER: Born in Boonville, Mo., Sept. 20, 1859; died in Austin, Tex., Aug. 28, 1943. Chemist and educator, he graduated in 1881 from the Philadelphia college of pharmacy and received an M. D. degree from the University of Virginia in 1892. He was a manufacturing chemist in Fort Worth, Texas, 1881-1884 and 1887-1890, metallurgist to Mexican mining companies, 1884-1886, and assistant resident physician in 1892 at Rockbridge Alum Springs, Virginia. He joined the staff of the University of Texas in 1894 as director of the chemical laboratory and school of chemistry. Chemist to the mineral survey of the University of Texas, 1901-1906, he served as dean of the graduate school, 1913-1934. He was widely known for his research and publications of pharmacology, geology, chemistry, and metallurgy.

FRED M. HARRISON: Born in Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 13, 1889; died in Gallatin, Mo., Oct. 11, 1943. Following his graduation in 1912 as a member of the first four-year class of the University of Missouri school of journalism, he was employed on the *St. Joseph News-Press*. Soon after, he joined his father as partner in publishing the *Gallatin North Missourian*. In 1926 he acquired the *Gallatin Democrat*. During the first World war, he served in Evacuation hospital, No. 16, 305th field artillery, and for four months in the army of occupation in Germany. He became the postmaster of Gallatin in 1919 and served continuously for thirteen years. In 1934 he was elected president of the Missouri press association and was a member of the board of regents of the State Teachers college at Maryville at his death. He was elected state representative in 1942.

GORDON HUDELSON: Born in Adrian, Mo., in 1899; died in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 16, 1943. After graduating from

Adrian high school, he served for thirteen months with the 35th division overseas in World war I. After the war, he began newspaper work as a reporter in Great Falls, Montana, and later moved to Moberly, Missouri, as city editor of the *Monitor-Index*. At his death, he was state editor and editor of "Missouri Notes," a widely read column of the *Kansas City Star*.

**ANDREW JACKSON MENTEER:** Born near Jefferson City, Mo., Sept. 19, 1862; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Aug. 8, 1943. Librarian in the supreme court library for fifty years, he began his service in 1892. After many years as assistant librarian, he was appointed librarian in 1917 and served until his resignation in 1942.

**JULIUS R. NOLTE:** Born in St. Louis county, Mo., Aug. 25, 1879; died in St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 28, 1943. He was educated in the Kirkwood high school, Cape Girardeau normal, and the St. Louis law school and was admitted to the bar in 1906. While studying law, he was also deputy circuit clerk of St. Louis county and in 1908 was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney. He served as mayor of Clayton in 1920-21 and in 1928 was appointed to fill a vacancy in the circuit court of St. Louis county. He was elected for six year terms in 1928, 1934, and 1940.

**MARTIN J. O'MALLEY:** Born in Chicago, Ill., in 1885; died in St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 30, 1943. President of Kenrick seminary at the time of his death, he had been rector, or president since 1938. In 1907 after graduating from DePaul university he entered the Congregation of the Mission, known also as the Vincentian order, at St. Mary's of the Barrens, Perryville. He remained there as a teacher after his ordination in 1912, until he went to Rome to spend two years in Colegio Angelico. After becoming professor of church history at Kenrick in 1917, he was pastor of St. Vincent's church, Los Angeles, from 1926 to 1932, when he returned to serve as vice-rector of Kenrick for six years.

MRS. ARTHUR L. PRESTON: Born in Bourbon county, Kan., April 8, 1868, died in Liberty, Mo., Aug. 13, 1943. Known as the mother of Missouri's largest family of printers, she became owner and publisher of the *Liberty Advance* and the *Liberty Tribune* upon the death of her husband in 1931. He had previously owned the Marshall *Democrat-News* and the *Moberly Index*. Seven of her ten children are also journalists.

CILFTON FORREST RIDINGS: Born in Monroe county, Mo., Sept. 8, 1874; died in Hamilton, Mo., Aug. 10, 1943. Before he was 19 he became a printer in Meadville but moved in 1900 to Hamilton to continue in newspaper work. He was city clerk for nineteen years and president of the chamber of commerce. He was a member of the Missouri press association and was given a newspaper service award in 1942 for his fifty years of service in journalism. In 1919 he and his partner, the late C. P. Dorsey, merged the two Hamilton weekly newspapers and he continued as manager until his retirement in 1941.

WILLIAM G. ROBERTSON: Born in Gallatin, Mo., April 3, 1867; died in Gallatin, Mo., Aug. 13, 1943. Editor of the *Gallatin Democrat* since 1926, he began the printer's trade in 1883 on the *Gallatin Missourian* and later in the same year in Jamesport. He purchased in 1911 the *Humansville Leader* which he published for two years. He was editor of the *Gallatin Democrat* for thirteen years until his retirement in 1939.

CASSIUS MCLEAN SHARTEL: Born April 27, 1860, in Harmonsburg, Pa.; died Sept. 27, 1943, in Neosho, Mo. Educated at Kansas state college at Manhattan, he was admitted to the bar at Sedan in 1882, but moved to Nevada in 1889. In 1904 he was elected congressman and served twice as a delegate to Republican national conventions, in 1900 and 1936. In 1922 he was president of the Missouri constitutional convention and in 1923 Missouri Valley college at Marshall conferred upon him the LL.D. degree.

**CHARLES JOSEPH SIEDLER:** Born at Marine, Ill., August 13, 1875; died Aug. 27, 1943. A prominent Republican in Jefferson county, he was chairman of the county committee for several terms. He was elected county collector in 1914 and state representative in 1942.

**WILLIAM EDWARD STUBBS:** Born in Sullivan county, Mo., Sept. 22, 1859; died in Bethany, Mo., Aug. 2, 1943. After moving to Mound City in 1889, he established and maintained a law office for fifty-three years. He served for two terms as prosecuting attorney of Holt county, and three terms as mayor of Mound City. He was elected to the state senate in 1900.

**FREDERICK JOSEPH TAUSSIG:** Born in Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1872; died in Bar Harbor, Me., Aug. 21, 1943. Educated at Harvard and Washington universities, he began practicing medicine in St. Louis in 1902. Professor of clinical obstetrics and gynecology at Washington university medical school since 1911, he was also an extensive writer on surgery, obstetrics, gynecology, and pediatrics. He was obstetrician at the St. Louis maternity hospital, consulting gynecologist at St. John's hospital, and chairman of the medical executive board of the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer hospital. He had also served as chairman of the State cancer commission and as president of the Central Association of obstetricians and gynecologists in 1932-1933.

**MACK VERNON THRALLS:** Born in Linn county, Kans., Sept. 11, 1868; died in Urich, Mo., Sept. 3, 1943. After a year's work on the *Appleton City Journal*, he founded in 1893 the *Urich Herald* which he published until 1913. A Democrat, he was elected state representative for the 1907-1908 term, held various city offices in Urich, and served on the state board of agriculture, 1913-1919.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS RIGHT!

From the *Missouri Whig*, April 9, 1845.

*Soft and Hard.*—These two antithetical words, besides their ordinary meaning, have, in Missouri, a political signification. In that State the democratic party are divided into "hards" and "softs."—The former advocate an exclusive metallic currency; the latter are in favor of a State Bank. Mentally and physically, no doubt, there are many *softs* among the "hards" and many *hards* among the "softs."

Yesterday a young six-footer from Missouri was strolling carelessly along the levee, whistling "Jenny get your hoe-cake done," looking at the sights that passed in panoramic view, as it were, before him, though not taking of anything a very minute view, except it was a dandy with his face covered over with black hair, who passed along, at whom he laughed outright, ejaculating, "Well, I swar', if I didn't take that 'ere critter, when I saw him first, to be a *bar* in breeches!"

He had not gone far, flinging out his legs as he would the oars of his flatboat, when he was accosted by one of those fellows who go about seeking for green ones to fleece. This fellow, looking very mysterious, put his hand inside the breast of his coat and pulled out what seemed to be a flashy, emerald, double breast-pin, set in gold. He motioned the Missourian to him with a kind of confidential, stage gesture, and asked him in a semi-suppressed voice, if he would not buy that—he would get the greatest kind of bargain of it.

The materials of the pin, or pins, we need not tell our readers, instead of being emerald and gold, were stained glass and lacquered brass. This fact the Missourian knew at a glance, though he affected to be quite unconscious of it.—He went on to bargain for it, till the sharper consented to give it for five dollars, though if he were not hard up, he said, and if his shirts were not seized for his board, he would not give it for forty.

"Well, I hain't got less than a ten dollar bill of the Missouri Bank," said the Missourian; "it's as good as gold, though—never suspended—and, as I'm a 'soft' you see, I prefer it to specie."

"O, you're a 'soft,' are you?" said the sharper.

"I reckon I am," said the young Missourian.

"Well, do you know, I thought you were," said the sharper, "now isn't that strange?"

"Very!" said the Missourian, handing over the ten dollar bill, and receiving the brass pin and five silver dollars.

They parted. The sharper carried away a counterfeit ten dollar bill—for such was the one given him by the Missourian—the latter returned to his boat, told how he bit the biter, and treated all hands out of the profits of the trade.

"The cussed scamp," said he, "took *me* to be a *soft*; but I reckon he found me a *hard*." [N. O. Pic.]

#### IT DIDN'T RISE TO THE OCCASION

From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, May 16, 1845.

We learn from some traders just from the Mountains, that the river above is low, in many places not over two feet. There is not a particle of snow above, and a rise in the Missouri cannot be looked for from the Mountains. They state that the steamboat *Frolic* is lying high and dry, and will not be able to get down this season.

#### DOGS TAKE IT ON THE LAM . . . . .

From the *Montgomery Tribune*, May 3, 1901.

Last Saturday morning a dog supposed to be mad bit Mrs. Morning's little girl and then ran on to Middletown about one mile and there bit little Mattie Steel and Mary Sturgeon. The dog was killed soon after and the little girls taken to a mad stone which was applied but did not adhere. Great excitement prevailed there and dogs have had to hide out to keep from being killed.

#### SOME FINAGLING'S BEEN GOIN' ON!

From the *St. Louis Beacon*, July 4, 1829.

For the *St. Louis Beacon*

I have read in a late number of the "*Missouri Republican*," that there was not a trace remaining of the Santa Fe road, which was laid off about three years ago. The persons entrusted with that work were, Messrs. GEORGE C. SIBLEY, B. H. REEVES, MATHERS of Illinois, as commissioners, and Messrs. JOSEPH C. BROWN and GAMBLE as surveyor and clerk. The whole of these are Adams men; and, as the paper which declares that no trace remains of their work, is a genuine Adams paper, its statements must be received as the highest evidence of the truth of what it reports against these five Adams gentlemen. The sum of \$30,000 was appropriated for the road, and I presume has all been drawn from the Treasury, and applied to the payment of these gentlemen's salaries. If equally divided among them, it would make about \$6,000; but as certain blue painted wagons which they took with them were understood to be loaded with all manner of good things to eat and to drink, and all purchased at the expense of the United States, it is probable that the share of each was something below that sum. Two things, however, seem to be past dispute, that the money is all gone, and the road is all gone! Now, Sir,

what would have been said by the Coalition papers in this state and elsewhere, if five Jackson men had divided \$30,000 among themselves for laying out a road, of which road there is not a trace remaining two years after it was done? Would they not be published from year's end to year's end, and every opprobrious epithet heaped upon their names? Would it not be cast up as a reproach to the whole Jackson party, and made an argument against trusting any of them with a public appointment? Surely it would. What then are we to think of the forbearance of the Jackson party, who never published a word upon this subject, until the mortifying fact was told by the Adams paper in this town, *that there is not a trace of this road remaining!*

#### "STRIP" TEASE

From the *Kansas City Journal*, September 19, 1893.

Disappointed boomers returning from the Cherokee Strip poured into the Union depot yesterday in droves, and many of them were loud in their denunciation of the methods practiced at the opening of the Strip. "Why, I'll tell ye, young man," said a gray-haired veteran from Macon, Mo., "I'm a purty good hustler myself, and I got right to the front early in the game. But Lord bless ye, there was a sooner on every quarter section and every lot and there weren't no show fer me."

Last night the Santa Fe brought in two special trains from the Strip, each loaded with returning boomers. At noon yesterday the Santa Fe brought in a heavy load and a few hours later the Rock Island dumped about 200 more on the depot platform.

#### WE SHINE IN REFLECTED GLORY

From the *Holt County Sentinel*, July 27, 1866.

ATTENTION ALL!—If you want to grow fruit for profit, come to Missouri. If you want to raise stock cheap, and at a great profit, come to Missouri and settle on our lands, for here you have extensive pasturage. If you want to go into wool-growing extensively, or in a small way: come to Missouri, and more than double your money every year. We state this as a fact, not to pull the wool over anybody's eyes. If you want to make butter and cheese easy and cheap, and sell them at higher prices than you ever heard of in the East, come to Missouri. If you want to make from \$100 to \$1000 a year on hogs, with other agricultural operations, come to Missouri.

#### SHE HAD A MIND . . . AND SPOKE IT!

From the *Columbia Herald*, July 10, 1890.

To the Editor of the *Herald*:

I want to tell you something about the celebration of the fourth of July in Columbia that your reporter will never tell, even if he noticed it.

There was firing of cannon and firecrackers; then came a band of music, followed by a procession of citizen marshalls, gaily bedecked in red sash and feathers, and on prancing steeds; then a long line of glass fronts, drawn by highstepping, stylish horses. In these carriages sat the old citizens whose liberality secured to us the University, (see elsewhere in your columns) the State officers, the curators, the faculty, the honorables of every sort; followed, on foot, through dust and sunshine, by ourselves (the women). On we went to the grandest University Missouri ever had. Chaucer himself could not describe that procession.

We (the wives of those who rode the prancing steeds or sat in the cushioned carriages) found that the seats reserved (?) for us on the floor were taken. The seats in the gallery were occupied; the corridors were full. But for the kindness of Dr. Fisher, we would have "rested in the shade of the trees." He seated us on the rostrum. It takes my breath yet to think of it, for there we sat at the very feet of the Gamaliels.

High on the wall, in bold coloring and letters, was this legend:

"All Honor to the Heroes of 1839;  
Behold the Fruits of Their Labors."

Not one word was there about the heroines, who, by savings and thrift, made it possible for Boone county, in her infancy, to give \$117,000 for the University. On my right sat these heroes in a body—their seats had not been usurped. Then came the speeches; and good ones they were, too. We all complimented each other and "had a real nice time."

The chairman, who has hitherto been the most gallant of men, arose and invited the heroes of '39, the Governor and officers, the careful curators, the wise faculty, all who are officers or teachers in the University or ever had been, and a host of others, too numerous to mention, to dinner. The aforesaid were requested to form in line and march in dignified procession to the tables. When the last invited guest had retired, I looked around and saw only ladies. (Chesterfield, be quiet.)

Well, while they dined on barbecued meats, we digested the thought, "Where would all these Solons be had not their mothers lived?"

We returned to the chapel in the afternoon and heard other good speeches about the University and "brave men and fair—" no, that quotation doesn't fit into that place.

One of the veterans told us of the troubles and sacrifices of those heroes of '39 when they gave their hard-earned money for the grand institution; but not one word did he speak for the heroine who wore the Sunday dress five years instead of one, and, by the light of a tallow dip, made souvenir darns on the little stocking as big as the dollars their husbands gave.

The speeches were made, the carriages rolled up to the door, and the gentlemen refreshed themselves in a drive to the fair grounds to witness trials of strength and skill of the wheelmen; while we, as the sun was

sinking, enveloped in crimson and gold, etc., etc., we gathered our skirts from the dust and walked wearily home.

Thus ended the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Missouri, in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

ONE OF THE HEROINES.

HE SAW THE LIGHT!

Reprinted from the *Kansas City Times* by the *Columbia Herald*, May 1, 1890.

One of the young men from Columbia, Mo., here attending the intercollegiate oratorical contest, remained over in the city last night. He stopped at the Centropolis Hotel, retiring about 10. At midnight the hall man noticed a peculiar odor, as if from burning cloth. Together with the night clerk and a police officer, he made an examination, and finally located it in the room of the young collegian. After five minutes hammering on the young fellow's door, he was brought to his feet. He made his appearance to the searchers in a half-dazed sort of way, and wanted to know what was the matter.

As soon as the night clerk entered the room he saw the cause of the trouble. The young man had wrapped a thin towel around the incandescent electric globe and it had become scorched.

"What on earth!" exclaimed the night clerk, "do you mean by this?"

"The light hurt my eyes and I wanted to hide it," exclaimed the young fellow.

"Why didn't you put it out, then?"

"Well," he said, in an apologetic fashion, "I blew and blew on the thing till I thought I'd go to pieces, and then I gave it up."

There will be fun on the campus when that young man returns.

'TWAS EVER THUS . . .

From the *Missouri Statesman*, January 24, 1862.

TO COFFEE CONSUMERS—MR. EDITOR: As coffee is selling at high prices and money is scarce, I wish to suggest a cheap plan for making coffee. Get some rye, 1st scald it; 2d dry it; 3d brown it; 4th mix one-third coffee and two-thirds rye, and you will have as good a cup of coffee as you ever drank.

CHECK AND DOUBLE CHECK

From the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 3, 1882.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN—I would respectfully call attention to a matter which I think has been overlooked by the Humane society. It is the practice of leaving horses hitched to a post for an hour or more at a time, without unloosening the check rein. This leaves the horse in a very

uncomfortable position, which might be entirely avoided by the smallest amount of forethought. Of course people do this through thoughtlessness, and if you will speak of it I think the comfort of this much-abused animal will be considerably enhanced.

#### MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

*Agricultural History*, July: "The Early Agricultural Fairs of Missouri" by George F. Lemmer.

*American-German Review*, August: "Daniel Boone's Pennsylvania Birthplace" by J. Bennett Nolan; "Plato and Hegel Contend for the West" by Henry A. Pochmann.

*Business Week*, September 18: "New Constitution."

*Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, October: "Gottlieb Schaller" by William Schaller.

*Filson Club History Quarterly*, July: "Steamboats at Louisville and on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers" by Arthur E. Hopkins.

*Glimpses of the Past*, January-June: "Letters of Thomas Caute Reynolds, 1847-1885."

*Journal of Negro History*, July: "Contest over Slavery Between Illinois and Missouri" by W. S. Savage.

*Journal of Southern History*, August: "The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists Before 1861" by William O. Lynch.

*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, July: "Louisiana Anticipates Spain's Recognition of the Independence of the United States" by J. Horace Nunemaker.

*Missouri Farmer*, October 15: "The Birth of the Missouri Farmers Association" by H. E. Klinefelter.

*National Historical Magazine*, September: "A Regional Museum of the Ozarks" by Edith C. Colley.

*National Municipal Review*, May: "Missouri Picks Delegates to Revise Constitution" by Stratford Lee Morton.

*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, April: "Audubon's Journey up the Missouri River, 1843" by A. O. Stevens.

*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, September: "Foundations of the Catholic Sisterhoods in the United States, 1850" by Sister Maria Alma of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

*Social Service Review*, June: "Is there a Doctor in the County?" [Washington county, Missouri], by R. Rippeto.

